

**THE TIMES**  
1785-1985  
**Tomorrow**

**Lord Gnome's triumph**  
John Wells on how Private Eye won its battle to be sold by W. H. Smith.

**The shape of spring**  
Suzy Menkes on the fine art of new season fashion.

**Uncommon House**  
Roger Scruton takes the major parties to task for Parliament's lack of ethnic representation.

**Capital team**  
David Miller reports on Real Madrid a legendary football club that can't live on past glories.

**Portfolio**

Next Saturday's weekly Times Portfolio prize will be £40,000 because last Saturday's prize of £20,000 was not won. The daily prize of £2,000 went to Mr Stephen Wright of Charlton, Andover, Hants.

Another £2,000 can be won today - the Portfolio list is on page 16 and the rules and how to play, information service, back page.

## RUC officer murdered at monastery

A Roman Catholic police sergeant was shot dead in front of his wife and children outside a monastery in Northern Ireland yesterday. Sergeant Hugh McCormack, aged 40, was an instructor at the RUC's training depot in Enniskillen, Co Fermanagh. As he lay dying, clutching a hymn book, one of the two gunmen involved stood over him and shot him again.

## Crackdown ends

About 10,000 Zimbabwe troops and police left Bulawayo, stronghold of the Nkomo opposition, after a virtual two-day siege in which a number of people were arrested.

## Gold raid hunt

Detectives investigating the £26 million Brinks-Mat bullion raid are conducting a big inquiry among commodity brokers and bullion dealers.

## Aids test doubt

A test for detecting Aids virus in the United States is unlikely to be adopted in Britain because of doubt over its accuracy.

## Bihar violence

Violence marred weekend elections in Bihar and confirmed the state's reputation as one where criminals take an active role in politics.

## Contadora hope

Hopes for the Contadora peace process have risen after the meeting in Uruguay between President Ortega of Nicaragua and Mr George Shultz.

## Peking deal

Cable and Wireless is to sign an agreement under which it will collaborate in developing the republic's communication services.

## Francis KO'd

Trevor Francis, the England footballer, was admitted to hospital after being knocked unconscious in a clash of heads while playing for Sampdoria in Genoa.

## Leader, page 13.

Letters: On the Speaker, from Mr M. Foot, MP; telephone tapping, from Mr J. H. Lewen.

## Features, pages 10-12.

A Tory plan for coal; Clarke's drug abuse policy questioned; famine supplies that cannot be moved. Spectrum: picket line wives. Monday Page: Jeanne Kirkpatrick reflects on her UN job.

## Classified, pages 22-26.

Educational: La crème de la crème. Obituary, page 14. Mr Jack Kelly, Mr Frank Pickstock.

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# Fight against closure of 'uneconomic' pits likely to continue

## Strike ends but Scargill defiant

● The miners' strike has ended with a narrow vote for a return to work tomorrow. Union leaders pledged to continue the fight against pit closures.

● The decision to end the strike was greeted with anger and tears by miners waiting in the rain outside TUC headquarters.

● Mr Ian MacGregor, the coalboard chairman, said the priority was to get the industry working normally. Mr Peter Walker, Secretary of State for Energy, is expected to report to the Commons today.

By Paul Routledge, Labour Editor

The miners' strike is over, but left-wing pit leaders last night vowed to continue the dispute over the closure of "uneconomic" collieries.

A delegate conference of the National Union of Mineworkers yesterday voted narrowly in favour of a mass return to work tomorrow without any signed agreement on the issue that triggered the conflict a year ago.

There were scenes of near-hysteria outside TUC headquarters when Mr Arthur Scargill, president of the NUM, emerged to tell miners of the 98-91 card vote to abandon the strike.

The National Coal Board welcomed the decision, but said that there would be no general amnesty for the 700 men dismissed over the past 51 weeks.

The coal board chairman, Mr Ian MacGregor, said last night: "Now that the NUM leadership has accepted the decision of the majority of their members to call off the union's strike, the first priority is to return the industry to normal a safe working quickly. A safe return to work at the pits is essential."

"Every day many more miners have been returning to work. Demonstrating to their



Mr Arthur Scargill, flanked by Mr Michael McGahey and Mr Peter Heathfield, after the vote yesterday. (Photograph: Suresh Karadia)

## Yorkshire pitman's tears mark the end

By Barrie Clement, Labour Reporter

When the final scene arrived yesterday it came without ceremony in a grey, rain-soaked street in central London.

Mr Arthur Scargill, Mr Michael McGahey and Mr Peter Heathfield, the leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers, emerged from the delegates' meeting at the TUC headquarters in great Russell Street, surrounded by the paraphernalia of the media.

They moved across the street towards the few members of the labour movement's crack regiment who had gathered to come back after the public houses had closed.

The demonstrators from the ultra-left and the sightseers had left before lunch, leaving little more than 100 miners to face their leaders.

Amid a small and unruly scrum, Mr Scargill addressed a knot of Scottish miners. "I want to say a few words," he said, but they knew already.

The strike was over, there was an unrecognised victory in a seeming defeat and a trust fund for the strikers dismissed by the National Coal Board was to be set up.

"We are not going back," they chanted as their hero struggled to make himself heard.

## Ministers avoid talk of victory

By Julian Haviland, Political Editor

There were no signs of ministers congratulating themselves on a victory over the leaders of the miner's union last night, much less over the union rank and file. Unusually, there was general recognition in government circles that Mr Arthur Scargill was right in his claim that, though the strike was over, the dispute continued.

Ministers want to see how many miners go back over the coming days and how quickly normal production is resumed, before they count anything as gained other than the absence of open hostilities.

Mr Peter Walker, Secretary of State for Energy, who is expected to make a statement to the Commons today said last night that among immediate priorities were "to unite the mining communities" and to revive the industry.

Mr Stan Orme, Labour's energy spokesman, said the miners had had a setback but not a defeat, and the battle would continue. He regretted that the strike had ended without agreement, and for that he blamed the National Coal Board.

## Egyptians expected to bid for Harrods

By Kenneth Fleet

Harrods' last sale is expected to start this week with a takeover bid in the name of three Egyptian brothers for House of Fraser, the company which owns the famous Knightsbridge store.

The brothers are Mohammed, Ali and Salah Al-Fayed, who in November last year paid Lorrho £138.3 million (300p a share) for its interest in Fraser.

Two of them, Mohammed and Ali, are members of the Fraser board, which met in London yesterday, as did the Al-Fayed's advisers, Kleinwort, Benson, to deliberate on the next phase.

The view inside the boardroom is that the Al-Fayed's are preparing to offer 400p a share, which would value Fraser at around £620 million, in the belief that other prospective bidders would not bid more.

This may be an optimistic view. Harrods is seen as a great international prize which, when it is knocked down at the forthcoming auction, is unlikely to come up for sale again.

Mr Roland "Tiny" Rowland, chief executive of Lorrho and owner of The Observer newspaper, has made no secret of his continuing interest.

Although Lorrho sold its original 29.9 per cent holding to the Al-Fayed, it promptly bought 6.3 per cent from a small group of other shareholders, including Sir Hugh Fraser, whose father brought Harrods into the House of Fraser group.

Mr Paul Spicer, a Lorrho director, said yesterday that Lorrho could "afford a bigger offer than 400p, but I cannot say what."

Lorrho and the Fraser board are waiting to be told the findings of the latest Monopolies Commission report on the relationships between Lorrho and House of Fraser, which went to Mr Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, last week. The central issue for the commission was whether Lorrho should now be free to bid for Fraser.

The Government's decision in 1981, after a previous Monopolies Commission inquiry, not to let Lorrho bid was the signal for a protracted war of attrition, waged by Mr Rowland against the majority of the Fraser board, in particular against the chairman, Professor Roland Smith, who combines vigorous business interests with the chair of marketing at Manchester University.

Other companies with a declared or close interest in Fraser-Harrods are Sears Holdings, which owns Selfridges and the provincial Lewis's department stores, BAT Industries, the tobacco and insurance company, and the tobacco and insurance company.

Continued on back page, col 1

## Shias counterpunch Israel's 'iron fist'

From Robert Fisk, Meerke, southern Lebanon

Israel's "iron fist" assault on the guerrillas of southern Lebanon yesterday ran into serious trouble counter-attacked across a wide area of the occupation zone and brazenly held a press conference in a village an hour after it had been subjected to the largest military raid ever staged by Israeli troops.

As the last soldiers travelled south in a mile-long armoured convoy after destroying homes and property in Maarak, Shia Muslim leaders threatened to take the war across the border into Galilee itself.

For over a day, up to 800 Israeli troops had surrounded the straggling hilltop township, interrogating more than 200 young men in the local school and threatening to shoot anyone approaching or leaving the village.

When I and two colleagues tried to drive to Maarak early on Saturday on a mountain track normally used by UN troops, my car was surrounded by Israeli soldiers, crouching on the hillsides in the dawn light, rifles to their shoulders, their officer screaming: "If you move, we will kill you."

Two hours later, at the same spot, they opened fire and killed a young man, probably a guerrilla - as he tried to run from the village. The UN went there later to collect his corpse.

Opposite Maarak, several dozen women from the village and the neighbouring hamlet of Teir Dibba watched impassively as the Israelis exacted their own punishment against those they accused of helping the guerrillas.

Across a small valley, we saw two large brown jets of smoke shoot upwards, followed by heavy claps of sound that echoed across the hills toward Israel. "They are blowing up houses," one of the women said.

The crowd watched in silence - one might almost have thought it was resignation - as the smoke drifted down the valley. Children sat in the grass and watched. There was no expression of anger or rebuke. That was to come later.

The only news from Maarak emerged over a crackling, short-wave radio where Khalil Jeradi, one of the three most important guerrilla leaders in southern Lebanon, was broadcasting two hours after the Israelis entered.

Under the 1976 Act public houses in Scotland were allowed to open on Sundays. Permitted hours were set for weekdays but licensees were entitled to apply to district

## Assurance on spy film rejected

By Our Political Editor

The Labour Opposition made it clear yesterday that it would not be satisfied with ministerial assurances about the working of the security service, MI5, based on the report being prepared by Lord Diplock, chairman of the Security Commission.

The report, which is expected to reach the Prime Minister tomorrow or Wednesday, will examine allegations made in a recent film for Channel Four television that MI5 spied on trade union leaders and organizations. Lord Diplock's terms of reference do not cover all the allegations.

Mr Gerald Kaufman, Labour shadow home secretary, said yesterday that if the report was not lengthy it would not deal with all matters of concern. If it was lengthy, there would be insufficient time to study it before the House of Commons gave a second reading to the Government's Interception of Communications Bill on Wednesday.

Mr John Cartwright, Social Democratic chief whip, said the film contained allegations which the inquiry would not cover.

Letters, page 13

Continued on back page, col 2

## Genscher hurries to talks with Gromyko

From Frank Johnson, Bonn

Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, was flying to Moscow last night for a meeting today with his Soviet counterpart, Mr Andrei Gromyko, announced only about six hours before he left Bonn.

Such suddenness is rare in East-West diplomacy. It seems probable that West Germany is anxious to dramatize the threat it sees developing to next week's Soviet-US nuclear arms control talks in Geneva.

Bonn's concern is that the Soviet fear of the Strategic Defence Initiative, the so-called "Star Wars", may cause Moscow to fail to reach agreement with Washington on more immediate nuclear issues.

Herr Genscher will also visit Warsaw, on Wednesday, for equally unscheduled talks with General Jaruzelski. He will travel via Finland, where President Richard von Weizsäcker of West Germany will be on an official visit, and from Warsaw to Bulgaria.

The meeting with Mr Gromyko is apparently at Bonn's initiative. Tentative approaches were apparently made about a week ago, and it seems that

US strategy, page 6

## Ministers agree on lifting pub hour restrictions

By Philip Webster, Political Reporter

The Government looks certain to act to sweep away restrictions on licensing hours in England and Wales to bring them into line with the freedom allowed in Scotland.

Ministers believe that with the decision to legalize seven-day round-the-clock shopping in Britain the pressure for reform of the archaic licensing laws has become irresistible.

A report expected at the Home Office in May on the

results of a survey by the Scottish Home and Health Department of eight years of liberalized licensing in Scotland is expected by ministers who favour reform in England and Wales to provide the clinching argument.

Under the 1976 Act public houses in Scotland were allowed to open on Sundays. Permitted hours were set for weekdays but licensees were entitled to apply to district

licensing boards for all-day licensing, and in some cases for opening till 2am. In practice this has meant that in tourist areas, particularly, there has been a virtual free-for-all on licensing.

The Scottish tourist industry, hoteliers, landlords and customers are understood to have welcomed the changes brought about by the 1976 Act. There is apparently no evidence of significant increases in drunkenness or alcoholism resulting from it.

Mr Leon Brittan, Home Secretary, is to announce later this month that the Government is to legislate in the next session of Parliament to remove restrictions on shop hours and Sunday trading.

Ministers have accepted that given the strength of the interest groups opposed to the changes, including the shopworkers' union and the churches, it could only be done by government legislation which would not be frustrated by the legitimate delaying tactics ap-

plied to private members' Bills. The same applies to licensing.

The arguments for removing shopping restrictions, benefiting the consumer, providing jobs and boosting tourism, are said by ministers to apply equally if not more so to licensing.

Lord Young, the Cabinet's chief job-creator, is one of the ministers most strongly pressing for reform, but Home Office ministers are also sympathetic.

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# The miners' strike: How battles were won and lost



Mr Ray Chadburn, president of the Nottinghamshire area (third left) being singled out during protests outside Congress House (photographs: Peter Trievnor)



## ANATOMY OF DEFEAT

### How the Tories executed long-term campaign to curb unions

By Paul Routledge, Labour Editor

The pit strike failed to achieve its objectives because of two key miscalculations by the leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers. They underestimated the determination of the Government not to suffer a repeat of past humiliations at the hands of the NUM, and they overestimated the willingness of their members to join a strike that did not have the authority of a secret pithead ballot.

Those failures of judgement brought low the flower of the trade union movement yesterday, and the lesson that militancy does not pay will now be driven home to other groups of workers.

There was always the prospect of a full-scale conflict between the miners under Mr Arthur Scargill, and Mrs Margaret Thatcher's confident, second-term administration.

The Conservatives had refined their contingency plans for coping with a miners' strike over the years. The process began when the Tories were still in opposition in the late 1970s, smarting from the defeats of 1972 and 1974 which led directly to the downfall of the Heath Government. A secret report, drawn up by a Conservative Party policy group headed by Mr Nicholas Ridley, now Secretary of State for Transport, looked forward to the risk of a "political threat" to a Thatcher Government from within a critical industry.

The Ridley report identified coal as "the most likely battleground", and recommended far-reaching precautions against the risk of defeat in such a confrontation. A six-point plan proposed:

● Building up coal stocks, particularly in power stations.

● Arrangements for the importation of coal.

● Recruitment of non-union lorry drivers to move coal.

● Introduction of dual coal/oil firing in power stations.

● Cutting off state benefits to strikers.

● Establishment of a large mobile police force to prevent violent picketing.

Where those measures were within the power of the incoming Conservative government to achieve – and most of them were – they were swiftly implemented. The Employment Act, 1980, "deemed" the NUM to be paying £16 a week strike pay and that sum was automatically deducted from the social security payments to strikers' families.

#### Power station coal stocks tripled

Coal stocks at power stations, and at the pithead, were practically tripled from 1972 levels to 57 million tonnes, half the annual output of the industry. Generating stations were switched to more flexible fuel, and the policing strategy established. When the flying pickets from Yorkshire swarmed over the county border to "picket out" moderate miners in Nottinghamshire they were outnumbered by the biggest mobilization of police seen in a dispute.

Those external developments made the success of an all-out miners' strike most unlikely, but the internal crisis within the NUM sealed the fate of the conflict almost at its outset. The flying pickets were met not only by sophisticated policing but by the blank refusal of the men in Nottinghamshire, south Derbyshire and Leicestershire to join the stoppage over pit closures.

Miners in those areas rejected the strike because it was called, without a ballot, by an NUM delegate conference. Their traditional reluctance to put secure jobs and high wages at risk, allied with a genuine distaste for the "undemocratic" nature of the strike, overcame any inhi-

bitations about breaching the union's unwritten commandment "thou shalt not cross picket lines".

The Nottinghamshire revolt ensured that sufficient coal was getting through to the big power stations in the Trent Valley to permit the Government to scoff at Mr Scargill's claims that there would be widespread electricity cuts. The propaganda value of that continuing supply was incalculable. Ministers were able to allay public fears, and the miner's hopes of a repetition of the three-day week of 1974 were dashed.

However, the revolt did not stop there. The legal campaign by working miners against the industrial action dealt a series of heavy blows to the union's credibility. Successive High Court orders prevented the NUM from telling its members not to cross picket lines; declared the strike unlawful; struck down the new disciplinary rule 51 which said miners who did not join the strike could lose their union membership in what was then a closed-shop industry; and finally sequestered the entire funds of the union for refusing to pay a £200,000 High Court fine imposed for breaching those orders.

The NUM never regained control of its £6.8 million assets, and that was a big contributing factor to the failure of the strike. Flying pickets gradually ceased to operate as area funds began to run out, and the NUM itself had to live on handouts and loans from political allies in the labour movement, delivered in secret by "bagmen" to prevent the sequestrators taking the cash.

Those internal divisions were exacerbated by the actions of the National Coal Board which, after the collapse of the July 18 peace initiative, embarked on a determined effort to entice the miners back to their pits. That campaign gathered momentum as each successive attempt at negotiating a settle-

ment collapsed. This, in turn, prompted more and more miners to abandon the strike. Demoralization set in across the industry, and the strike was kept solid in the citadels of militancy, Yorkshire and South Wales, only by a powerful tradition of discipline, coupled with the veiled threat of violence.

When the violence did breakout, it alienated not just public opinion but the rank and file trade unionists to whom the miners appealed, after the Brighton TUC Congress, for backing to blockade the movement of coal, coke and substitute oil supplies to the power stations. Lorry drivers broke the embargo on supplies to steelworks, and the steelworkers agreed to use those supplies; the men in the power stations voted overwhelmingly not to back the coal strike.

#### Hardship, despair set seal on strike

It was a far cry from the days of the early 1970s, when the miners had only to put a picket line across a road for the movement of key supplies to stop. Finally, it came down to a mixture of financial hardship and despair born of the continuing deadlock in negotiations and the deep reluctance of the workers in other industries to become involved.

At yesterday's delegate conference, the Durham miners argued: "It is unreasonable, on humanitarian grounds, to call upon the membership to endure still further personal pain and sacrifice to themselves and their families in their loyalty to the union."

The wheel had come full circle since the Wilberforce Report which ended the 1972 strike argued "too much was asked of these men" by their employers and society.

## UNION SHAKE-UP

### Exit old guard, enter new Act

By Our Labour Editor

The argument that finally persuaded the miners to return to work without any tangible gains after a year on strike was the only one that still had any serious clout: go back to save the union.

The National Union of Mineworkers is an unusual social, political and industrial institution that has weathered many vicissitudes since its early beginnings in Yorkshire a century and a half ago. As its leaders seek to reassert control over their members today, the union is in its fiercest crisis since the dark days of 1926.

Predictions of the union's demise are certainly wide of the mark, but big changes are likely and not even the position of its president, Mr Arthur Scargill, is secure as new legislation to democratize the labour movement comes into effect.

Some of the militant architects of the strike are due to retire from the ruling executive shortly, including Mr Emyrn Williams, president of the South Wales miners. Mr Michael McCahy, the union's communist vice-president and leader of the Scottish pitmen; and Mr Owen Briscoe, secretary of the Yorkshire coalfield. Mr John Weaver, the rank-and-file executive member from the Doncaster area, is also not standing again.

Those are short-term changes that will see the back of the "old guard" and loosen up the political balance of the union leadership. There is also the likelihood of more radical change stemming from the requirement under the Trade Union Act, 1984, for secret ballots for the election of all 25 members of the executive who have a vote.

They include Mr Scargill, who has only a casting vote. The Act demands that voting members of union executive bodies must stand for election every five years. That provision comes into force on October 1, and unless the miners' union president renounces his vote, the law requires him to stand for re-election by December 1986, the fifth anniversary of his 70 per cent landslide victory against three moderate contenders that gave him the job for life under the existing rule book.

The union is refusing to change its rules to conform with the Act. If it continues to do so, there will certainly be a legal challenge from disaffected members to compel Mr Scargill to offer himself to the union electorate again.

By whatever route the miners get back to the pits, it is open to doubt whether the "Scargill effect" will exercise the same impact on their depleted, exhausted ranks.

#### Text of NUM resolution

The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the special national delegate conference of the NUM:

The South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers calls upon the National Executive Committee to recommend to the national delegate conference that in view of the fact that there has been:

- a drift back of members to work in all areas, and
- that it has now become clear that a coal board have no intentions whatsoever to have any discussions with the union unless they sign the document presented by the TUC to the union on Sunday, February 17,

that the National Union should now organize and authorize a return to work of our members that are still on strike, and that this return to work should commence on Tuesday, March 5, 1985 without any signed agreement.

The National Executive Committee should also be called upon to negotiate with the National Coal Board on a national basis an amnesty for the men dismissed during this dispute.

## CHRONOLOGY OF DISPUTE

### Events that led NUM from strike decision to vote

In the end the National Union of Mineworkers was beaten, but at many times during the dispute it looked as if victory, or at least a favourable settlement, was within its grasp. The main events during the dispute were these:

October 31, 1983: NUM starts overtime ban in protest against pit closures and an offer of a 5.2 per cent pay rise from the National Coal Board. The ban, introduced without a ballot, is designed to run down coal stocks which, before the ban, stood at a record 34 million tonnes at power stations, with more at pit heads. The winter is mild and the ban has little effect.

Soon after Christmas, with the NUM refusing to talk to the board about its plans for closures, Mr Ian MacGregor, the board chairman, tells the world that the overtime ban can continue "indefinitely" as far as he is concerned.

March 5, 1984: Strike in Yorkshire in protest at plans to close Cortonwood.

March 6: The coal board announces plans to cut four million tonnes of capacity. Scottish leaders call strike. The Yorkshire executive calls the strike and the miners vote it in a ballot in 1981. Union rules require a ballot for a national strike, but allow the executive to endorse local action.

In what turns out to be one of the most controversial decisions of the dispute, the left on the national executive decides to avoid a national vote and wait for the other districts to come out. Some, such as Durham and Kent, do so. Others, such as South Wales, initially decide not to strike but then join in rather than cross picket lines.

By March 12 only about a half of the nation's miners have come out.

March 14: Nottingham police order for and get help from the rest of the country. The National Reporting Centre drafts 8,000 police officers from half of the country's 43 forces.

March 19: Miners turn up in strength at 27 Nottinghamshire pits: there is a huge police presence. Police officers in Nottinghamshire stop

pickets from entering the county.

March 26: The NUM tells the TUC to keep out of the dispute. That hardens attitudes of unions such as the steelworkers, which do not want to put their members' jobs at risk.

March 29: Transport unions impose ban on movement of coal which is only part effective.

April 23: NUM changes rules so that it can call a strike with only 51 per cent of the national vote instead of 55 per cent. But no move to ballot.

May 23: First talks between the union and the coal board collapse.

May 25: Pickets try to block coke leaving Orgreave works. Their aim is to choke off supplies to South Yorkshire steelworks. Working Nottinghamshire miners win a court order on their right to work.

June 8-13: Another attempt at peace talks fails despite coalboard concessions.

June 18: Heavy fighting as the police and pickets clash at Orgreave. Plant stays open.

July 8: National dock strike called with movement of coal as focus. Unions try to stop all ferry traffic through Dover, but meet such a hostile reaction from users that the Dover men press for the strike to be called off. Finally abandoned on July 21.

July 31: South Wales miners fined £50,000 and funds sequestered for picketing contempt.

September 3: TUC votes overwhelmingly to intensify support for miners, although the key unions, such as power workers, make no promises.

September 12: Nacods, the pit deputies, angered at being instructed to cross picket lines, vote to strike, but agree to talk with coal board.

October 1: Huge support for NUM at Labour Party conference, but Mr Neil Kinnock condemns violence.

October 10: NUM fined £200,000 for contempt of court. Begins long series of legal actions which end in stripping of its funds.

October 16: Peace talks at Acas fail.

October 17: Nacods announces strike to be held on October 25.

October 20: Michael Eaton takes over presentation of coal board case after a series of public relations disasters.

October 25: Nacods calls off strike in return for coal board concessions.

October 26: NUM rejects terms and fights on alone. High Court orders total sequestration of NUM funds.

October 29: NUM attempt to get Libyan money exposed.

November 5: Mr Peter Walker, Secretary of State for Energy, says "strike is crumbling" as 900 men go back to qualify for Christmas bonuses. Violence worsening.

November 13: 5,000 workers go back. Mr Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, is taunted with a noose when condemning violence.

November 28: TUC General Council decides to seek talks with the Government.

November 30: Receiver appointed to control NUM assets and funds.

December 3: NUM special conference decides to boycott receiver.

December 12: Nottingham area makes first move towards breaking away from national union.

December 14: TUC leaders are told by Mr Walker that NUM must drop rigid demands.

January 7, 1985: 1,300 miners return to work on first day after holiday.

January 10: NUM executive votes to expel Nottinghamshire area.

January 21: Government indicates that it is unwilling to allow talks to start after contacts between the union and the board.

January 24: NUM executive considers draft peace plan that emerged from informal contacts.

February 1: Peace talks collapse; new coal board drive to get return to work.

February 15: Peace talks break down.

February 19: TUC meets Prime Minister and then has informal talks with Mr Walker.

February 20: NUM rejects peace plan.

## CONTROLLING THE PICKETS

### Biggest test of police tactics and response

By Peter Evans, Home Affairs Correspondent

The miners' strike provided the biggest test yet for a range of techniques that have revolutionized the response of the police to disorder in the past 15 years.

Never before have so many officers been transferred between forces to so many different points, and been expected to fit in with the tactics employed.

The secret is a strategy with three key components: flexibility in tactics, stepping up training, and the ability to make, during the miners' dispute, more than one million movements of officers from almost all forces, which together have a strength of 120,000.

A confidential manual on tactics has been produced for the Association of Chief Police Officers. To ensure that different officers can work together using a variety of crowd control methods, whether during peaceful protest or violent attack.

An example of tactics the police can now employ is the use of artificial lighting to create illuminated and darkened areas at night, to help them to command territory.

Lessons learnt in the United States and Europe and during disturbances in Britain have been studied to see what is suited to Britain. "Best practice" as the police call it, is spread through conferences, training programmes and briefings.

Mr Christopher Payne, Chief Constable of Cleveland and chairman of the association's standing committee on public order, said that the manual had

training packages for different ranks.

Asked why it was confidential, he said: "Public knowledge of the details of the way in which the police would handle any situation could jeopardize the success of the operation". His committee was "a catalyst for action".

The training manual is part of the new strategy. Another part, severely tested by the dispute, is the National Reporting Centre, which enables forces to help each other by transferring officers.

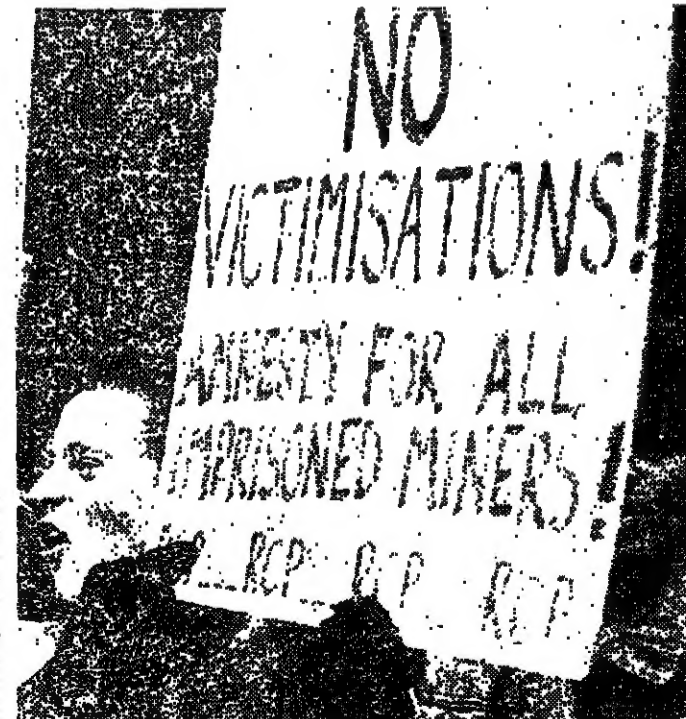
The centre was the chief constables' response to the closure of the coke depot at Salfley in 1972 after a struggle at times involving 800 police and 15,000 secondary pickets. It was used to monitor the prison officers' dispute in 1980, during the urban riots in 1981 and for the Pope's visit in 1982.

Before the Salfley incidents one of the differences between the police and the Army was that the Army had mobility. The miners' strike showed that the police now have mobility and can blend individual officers into a more cohesive unit.

That is achieved by use of the police support unit, which originated in the Metropolitan Police in the late 1960s after mass protests against the Vietnam war.

Each support unit consists of 20 constables, two sergeants and an inspector and a driver. Their use of riot shields depends on local intelligence.

The unit can be divided into two serials, each under a sergeant, and halved again into



A demonstration outside yesterday's delegate conference.

groups of five. If necessary the three in front carry long shields, with the two officers behind locking them together, as in a rugby scrum. Shields and protective clothing have been used in the miners' strike.

Officers are helped by knowledge of the intentions of the crowd to be policed. They try to build up a rapport with its leaders and agree territory the crowd can use. The police may use terrain to keep reserves out of sight, but if they meet aggression from the beginning, reserves may be on view as a show of strength.

The police prefer contact in traditional uniform with crowds. If they want a crowd to move and the loudhailer is not needed, one tactic taught is "wedging and trudging". The wedge is an arrow formation of

officers, locked together. The "trudge" is the method of movement forward by officers pushing front men with their hands sideways from behind, one foot before the other, like a tug of war team in reverse.

Wedges were used during the Warrington print dispute to break up the crowd into three separate parts out of sight of each other, with the police holding the high ground. The police there said that it was the first time they had used training developed after the Toxteth riots.

The "snatch squad" is a way of breaking up crowds by making selective arrests. It can consist of two front men with shields and two behind, ready to remove the chosen individual.

### Full output unlikely for six months

It could be as much as six months' time before full output resumes at most of Britain's 500 coal faces.

According to the latest figures from the National Coal Board, decay and damage are widespread and one in three pits have been put at serious risk by the strike.

About forty valuable coal-faces have been lost, as well as about £50 million worth of equipment.

Yorkshire, with 55,000 miners, 53 pits and an annual output of 30 million tons is worst affected. According to board figures, fires and collapses have cost 10 faces at Rossington, Bentley, Huddersfield, Highgate, Hatfield, Fryton, Treton and Houghton Main.

More than £4 million worth of machinery has been lost at Fryton, at Rossington and Markham Main. £2 million worth has been lost at Bentley, which employs 1,000 miners, two of the three faces have been lost and the third is in doubt.

In Durham and Northumberland, the second largest coalfield, Murton, had been lost as well as £1 million of machinery.

In Lancashire, £1.5 million worth of equipment has been abandoned and a face lost. Several underground roads at other pits are impassable. In north Derbyshire, three faces have been lost.

In South Wales, four faces have been lost.

### Scargill defiant as pit strike ends

Continued from page 1

Richardson, attended as members of the executive.

Mr Scargill, insisting that he felt "terrific, quite frankly", refused at a press conference to concede defeat. In spite of tremendous hardship, his members had remained on strike for a whole year, and the board did not have a signed agreement that pit closures could be made on economic grounds.

The board's plan to eliminate four million tonnes of high-cost capacity during 1984-85 had not been implemented and the threat to close five named pits immediately had been withdrawn, Mr Scargill said.

Government ministers and the board alike are not happy that the strike has ended without an agreement on the issue of uneconomic closures, and there is certain to be fresh pressure on the union to accept the principle contained in the document conveyed by the TUC general secretary, Mr Norman Willis, two weeks ago and subsequently thrown out by the union executive.

This document lays down that collieries "where there are no further reserves which can be developed to provide the board, in line with their responsibilities, with a satisfactory basis for continuing operations" will be referred to a new review procedure.

Mr Eaton said that this document was "reasonable and straightforward and should have provided the basis for a settlement. I find it absolutely astonishing that they can't agree

to the terms of that document. The strike became political. It started as an exercise to match supply with demand."

The problems faced by the board last March, when it announced the plan to shut 20 pits with the loss of 20,000 jobs, were still there, but now they were worse, Mr Eaton said.

There had been a substantial loss of markets, while 35 million tonnes of coal remained "on the ground" – 15 million tonnes at the power stations and 20 million tonnes at the pithead.

These are the first official figures on coal stocks for many years. They demonstrate that the year-long strike has cut stocks by only 22 million tonnes.

The initiative for further talks now lay with the union, Mr Eaton went on, not with the board. "The initiative does rest with them, although perhaps that is not the most popular thing to say."

**Correction**  
Sir Michael Edwards, the chairman of Dunlop, has denied a *Times* report that he was the private guest at a coal board dinner last week and was involved in discussions as a possible successor to its chairman, Mr Ian MacGregor. He said in a statement last night that he was overseas on Dunlop business for the whole of last week.

The *Times* overseas selling prices:  
Australia \$1.50, Canada \$1.50, Denmark \$1.50, France \$1.50, Germany \$1.50, Greece \$1.50, Italy \$1.50, Japan \$1.50, Korea \$1.50, Luxembourg \$1.50, Netherlands \$1.50, Norway \$1.50, Portugal \$1.50, Singapore \$1.50, South Africa \$1.50, Sweden \$1.50, Switzerland \$1.50, Taiwan \$1.50, Thailand \$1.50, USA \$1.50, Yugoslavia \$1.50.



# Gold refiners questioned in police hunt for Brinks-Mat haul

Detectives investigating the £26 million bullion raid on the Brinks-Mat security depot at Heathrow airport, London, are conducting an important inquiry among commodity brokers and bullion dealers in an attempt to trace the missing gold.

The 15-month inquiry has uncovered the complex route through which, it is believed, the 6,800 gold ingots from Britain's biggest robbery have been channelled.

Scotland Yard detectives believe that the ingots from the raid in November 1983 have been "laundered" through middle-men and companies before being filtered on to the bullion market.

During the past few days the Yard has admitted to tracing £1.3 million of the bullion, but some reports have put the figure as high as £13 million. It is understood that bank accounts containing large sums have been traced, investigated and, in at least one case, "frozen".

The inquiry, which is believed to have linked Yard detectives with officers from other forces as well as with customs agents, has centred on some big City firms and their subsidiaries, with particular attention being paid to companies in the provinces that are known to have the capacity to

handle large quantities of gold.

One of the world's largest refiners of precious metals, Engelhard Industries, which is American-owned, confirmed at the weekend that it had been asked to co-operate with detectives trying to trace the missing bullion.

The company, which has a refining plant at Cinderford, in Gloucestershire, and sales offices for the buying and selling of scrap gold in Birmingham and London, said that officers had visited its premises several times during the past month.

"We have been asked to supply more information to the police in the coming weeks, which we are doing, though no one in the company is prepared to make any further comment on it at this stage", an official said.

He added that Engelhard, like all the big bullion dealers, carefully checked the source of gold before it is bought, but that "it would conceivably be possible for small quantities of gold bought over the counter to slip through without being very thoroughly checked".

Many of the ingots have been sold, it is believed, and it is the cash from their sale which the police think has been banked. Reputable commodity dealers are thought to have been caught up unwittingly in the attempt to

"launder" the haul and, in an effort to discover the extent of the Yard's investigation, *The Times* approached leading bullion dealers understood to have been involved in police inquiries.

One big City commodity broker dealing in gold, S & W Berisford, said it was not aware that it had been involved in the police investigations.

Mr Harry Wiltshire, a director of the company, said: "We normally deal only with very large and reputable dealers, so we do not need to make checks on where our gold comes from."

Johnson Matthey another of the City's main bullion dealers, said it, too, was unaware that it might be subject to police scrutiny.

The company's acting managing director, Mr J. Stephenson, said: "I am not aware that Johnson Matthey is being investigated by Scotland Yard in connection with the Brinks-Mat inquiries. It would not necessarily have come to my attention, but I cannot think that it can be very important if I have not heard about it."

Throughout their investigations the police have maintained that most of the gold is still in this country. Their efforts to trace it have included searching more than 60 premises.



The coffin of Detective Constable Ivy Kelly killed at Newry last week being carried yesterday by her husband Robert, who is also a member of the RUC.

## RUC man murdered at church

By Richard Ford and Colin Hughes

Terrorists shot dead a Roman Catholic police sergeant in front of his family as he arrived for Mass at a monastery near Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, yesterday. The killing increases pressure of the Government's security policy after one of the worst fortnights in Northern Ireland for several years during which 19 people have died.

The dead officer was named last night as Mr Hugh McCormac, aged 40, who held eight internal commendations for good police work. His wife, Carol, and their children Elaine, aged 16, David aged 15, and Darren, aged 9, were walking towards the church when the terrorists struck as he locked the door of his car at St Gabriel's Retreat.

He was shot at point blank range by terrorists armed with a hand gun and rifle. As he lay dying one terrorist ran towards him and pumped more bullets into his body.

The terrorists escaped in a car later found abandoned near the border with the Irish republic.

The shooting brings the number of RUC deaths to 11 this year - more than the figure for the whole of 1984. It is the second attack this year on a Roman Catholic member of the security forces attending Mass.

Although the Government will face demands from "loyalist" politicians during an emergency session of the Northern Ireland Assembly this morning for tougher security

measures to counter an upsurge in republican terrorism, Mr Douglas Hurd Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, is unlikely to offer any dramatic initiative when he makes his statement to the Commons later today.

But yesterday Mr Hurd admitted on Channel 4's *Face the Press* programme that the terrorists still have the capacity to wreak heavy casualties.

Three of the RUC officers killed at Newry last Thursday - Chief Inspector Alexander Donaldson, Woman Detective Constable Ivy Kelly, and Sergeant John Dowd - were buried yesterday. The funeral of Private Trevor Harkness, a UDR soldier killed on the same night, also took place yesterday.

## Domesday Book may be divided into six

By Tony Samstag

Domesday Book, which will be 900 years old next Christmas, is to be split, probably into six sections instead of the present two, the Public Record Office said yesterday.

Miss Patricia Barnes, deputy keeper of the office, said that the rebinding was necessary because the two volumes, Great and Little Domesday, would not open properly and "we are concerned that after 900 years it should last a little bit longer".

The two volumes were intended to be kept on a shelf, but opening them for display or research pulls at the manuscripts and can damage them. They were rebound in the early 1980s, but the binding is still considered too tight for comfort.

Domesday Book has been moved from the Public Record Office's museum in Chancery Lane, central London, to its extension at Kew, where the Westernham Press is photographing it for a full-colour facsimile edition to be published by Alecto Historical Editions. It seemed right to the office to carry out the rebinding, into four volumes for Great Domesday and possibly two for Little Domesday, at the same time.

Miss Barnes said that the Public Record Office was prepared for objections by medieval scholars to the revision of Domesday. "One thing I know about scholars is that they will always oppose anything", she said.

William the Conqueror commissioned the land-use survey at Gloucester during Christmas 1085. It is to go on display again from April next year, and the 7,000 people who normally see it each year are expected to increase to 250,000 because of the publicity.

In addition to the facsimile volume and a number of separate facsimiles by shire or county, a version is to be produced by the BBC on video disc.

## Doubt over US test for Aids virus

By Nicholas Timmins  
Social Services Correspondent

The United States Government has approved a test for detecting exposure to the virus Aids (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) in the blood of blood donors.

The test will be available to blood banks in the United States in four to six weeks, Dr Frank Young, commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, said in Washington at the weekend.

The test, developed by Abbott Laboratories, is unlikely to be adopted in Britain in the immediate future, however, as specialists fear it is too inaccurate and could cause bigger difficulties than it solves.

Evaluations of five tests developed in the United States, one developed in France and one under development in Britain are being planned by the Department of Health and Social Security. Dr Young said that the Abbott test may miss as many as 7 per cent of blood samples which show evidence that the donor has been exposed to Aids virus.

British blood transfusion specialists last week opposed introducing any test that gave a high rate of false positives.

## £3m Endeavour replica project

A £3 million project to build a replica of Captain Cook's sailing ship, the Endeavour, has been launched in the explorer's boyhood home of Whitby, North Yorkshire.

According to a report nearly £2 million of the cost would probably be available in grants from such bodies as the EEC, the English Tourist Board and the Manpower Services Commission. If research shows that donors would back the project, a fund-raising programme will start to raise nearly £1.2 million.

## Wider conveyancing jeopardized by 'split'

By Frances Gibb, Legal Affairs Correspondent

The Government's proposal to allow banks and building societies to undertake conveyancing has caused a split between government departments which could jeopardize chances of early legislation.

On one side is the Department of Trade, believed to favour the idea and to take a robust view of objections that it would pose the lending institutions with serious conflicts of interest.

On the other is the Lord Chancellor's Department, which apparently takes a more cautious view, accepting in part at least the arguments of solicitors that the move would not be entirely in the public interest.

It is now a year since the Government floated its proposal to extend conveyancing, after the withdrawal of the House Buyers' Bill by Mr Austin Mitchell, Labour MP for Great Grimsby.

In return the Government promised to end the solicitors' conveyancing monopoly by allowing not only licensed non-lawyer conveyancers to do the work, but also solicitors employed by banks and building societies.

The Government hoped to legislate on both fronts in this parliamentary session, but the Administration of Justice Bill going through the Lords concerns only licensed conveyancers and the Queen's speech made no mention of banks and building societies.

Solicitors' fears about the loss of the conveyancing monopoly have focused almost exclusively

on the "banks and building societies" proposal.

Licensed conveyancers, who will be subject to stringent competence tests, are not regarded as posing any threat. But the big lending institutions could seriously undercut a large chunk of the profession's livelihood.

One or two of the clearing banks have expressed their eagerness to offer conveyancing by means of a "mortgage package". The conveyancing service would apparently be offered free, but its cost hidden in mortgage repayments.

The Law Society, which hired public relations consultants to tackle the "banks and building societies" issue, has said that there could be widespread closures of small solicitors' offices if the proposal goes ahead.

In its response to the consultation paper issued by the Lord Chancellor's Department last April, the society predicted that the network of legal services would be drastically curtailed, with large sectors of the public deprived of legal choice.

The network of about 7,500 solicitors' firms would be replaced by a "powerful cartel of 15 financial giants".

### Dawson home

Les Dawson, the television personality, was yesterday recovering at his Lancashire home after being discharged from hospital in Preston. He was admitted to its intensive care unit on developing a blood infection after an operation.

## Child sex offenders face 'listing'

By Peter Evans  
Home Affairs Correspondent

The compilation of a national register of child sex offenders which could be used to vet people seeking work with children will be considered by a review body to be set up by Mr Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary.

The review by Home Office officials comes after the jailing for life last December of Colin Evans for the murder of Marie Payne, aged four, with a recommendation that he serve at least 30 years.

Evans worked as a volunteer babysitter in the Reading area on behalf of charities which were not told of his child sex record.

The review's terms of reference have not yet been announced.

Ministers hope the officials will present their recommendations within a year on the possibility of disclosing to prospective employers relevant information about the criminal background of people wanting to work with children.

The Government believes the National Criminal Records Office at Scotland Yard does not have the facilities to provide information in the form needed for that type of assessment.

The implications of the register on the technical aspects of the Rehabilitation of Offenders' Act, 1974, which wipes the slate clean for certain categories of offenders, would also have to be considered.

## Whitehall high flyers train as 'gorillas'

By David Walker, Social Policy Correspondent

A group of high-flying Civil Servants today starts the last phase of a gruelling executive training course which the Government hopes will turn out a new breed of tough Whitehall operatives who can hold their own with the best private-sector managers.

During the past month at a mansion in Hampshire 10 Civil Servants have shared an intense round of lectures and seminars with 13 top personnel from Marks & Spencer, Barclays Bank, George Wimpey and the

nationalized industries. According to Mr John Mayne, the Cabinet Office official who has organized the experiment, several of the private managers are "gorillas" and he evidently hopes that some of their strength rubs off on Whitehall's traditionally gentler types.

The course, called the "top management programme", which costs £4,000 a month for each participant, has been set up with the personal backing of Mrs Margaret Thatcher. The

Government is insisting that no Civil Servant will reach the rank of under-secretary without having completed it.

One of the objectives, Mr Mayne said, is "increased value for money and improvements in productivity and efficiency" once Civil Servants are taught to set clear objectives and manage their organizations positively.

Participants are given problems to solve, like how better to manage the National Health Service and British Rail.

## Police shooting inquiry

A man was recovering and under police guard in hospital yesterday after being shot by police during an attempted security van raid in Caledonian Road, north London. Scotland Yard said that the man had a two-hour operation at the Middlesex Hospital to remove a bullet from his chest.

Two other men are at King's Cross police station after the attempted raid outside the Ejam Freezer Centre on Saturday as Securicor guards were leaving.

An internal inquiry into the shooting, headed by Det Chief Supt David Bretton, was under way last night.

## Computer firms offering workers more perks

By Bill Johnstone  
Technology Correspondent

Computer companies are having to offer their skilled staff more perquisites to attract recruits and keep their key members of staff. The number of companies offering perquisites to staff has grown for the third year in succession. The trend has been derived from a study of 6,000 computing staff published by the National Computing Centre and the computer magazine *Computer Weekly*.

The study also examined salary trends.

Proportion of companies giving perquisites

	%
Paid overtime	51
Company car	54
Healthlife insurance	50
Subsidized lunches	43
Product bonus	40
Cheap goods	38
Non-contrib pension	18
Share option	12
Preferential loan/mortgage	7

Growth of principal perquisites

	Product bonus	Health life ins	Company car
1984	40	50	54
1983	37	47	52
1982	34	44	48



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## Nuclear power: 1

## French PWR network is model for British aims

The Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB) may face up to a year's wait before the outcome of the Sizewell inquiry is known. It will be a year in which it will cast envious glances across the Channel where France's PWR network produces electricity at rates which are allowing it to forecast another 4 per cent cut in its tariffs this year.

In Scotland, the South of Scotland Electricity Board will move closer to completing its second large advanced gas cooled (AGC) station on the east coast at Torness, only a few miles across the border. That will give it increased capacity to "export" electricity to the 12 English area boards.

The CEGB has used the French experience to point out the benefits of PWRs, both to the electricity consumer and to industry.

The benefits to the local communities have also been considerable, but have led to accusations from the anti-nuclear power lobby in France that Electricite de France (EDF), the CEGB's opposite number, has simply bought off local opposition by providing cheaper power to those living closest to the stations and by building schools, sports halls, medical centres and shopping facilities for the local authorities.

The local residents deny they have been bought off. Mr Jean-Claude Cajeat, the head of

As the controversial public inquiry into the building of a pressurized water-cooled reactor (PWR) at Sizewell draws to a close, consumers in France and Scotland are about to end a winter during which they have received most of their electricity from nuclear-powered stations.

Today David Young, Energy Correspondent, looks at France's network of 34 PWR stations, which provide the country with the cheapest electricity across its borders and - from next year - across the Channel.

construction at Gravelines, on the Channel coast between Calais and Dunkirk, where EDF will shortly complete the world's largest nuclear power complex, said: "The local people did not object because they saw that we were serious about providing long-term benefit to the local community."

"The only time we had objections on the site was when anti-nuclear protesters from across the border in Belgium arrived."

"The local inquiry into the planned station took six weeks and, again, the only objections were from people who travelled from Belgium and Holland."

Gravelines will have its sixth PWR in operation by midsummer. It already has four in full

operation and a fifth is undergoing commissioning tests. That PWR has a potential output of 5,400 megawatts, and 2,000MW of that could find its way to Britain via the planned cross-channel link.

At Gravelines EDF put into operation the procedures it has used at all 34 of its nuclear sites. The company ensures that:

- Construction workers live in company buildings designed to blend in with the local architecture, ruling out the possibility of large temporary and unsightly caravan sites.

- The local public facilities are adapted or upgraded to cope with the new demands made by the site.

- Local and regional workers are provided with occupational training programmes.

- Financial assistance is given to the local community to cater for the influx of power station workers and to pay for any job retraining for construction workers.

Mr Cajeat said: "The main idea is that the construction site should, as far as possible, spark off the development of the surrounding area. In each case the geographical, social and economic characteristics of the area are taken into account when formulating the plan."

Tomorrow: The Scottish experience



Old glory: Cars being prepared in Battersea Park, London, yesterday for a run to Brighton organized by the Morris Register, a club for owners of Morris cars made before 1940. (Photograph: Julian Herbert)

## Fumes risk angers firemen

By Peter Evans, Home Affairs Correspondent

Allegations that breathing apparatus was refused to some firemen during a blaze at Sheffield last September are made by the journal of the Fire Brigades Union, which says that more than 100 members had felt ill effects from the fire.

More than 30 schools were closed as charred material containing asbestos landed in playgrounds. Mr David Matthews, the union's health and safety officer, says in *Firefighter*:

"When we at last got copies of the exact substances stored at the time alarm bells started ringing regarding the effect on the firefighters who had inhaled the toxic fumes."

More than 400 men fought the blaze over five to six days at the National Carriers depot. The union says: "Many did not wear breathing apparatus, some because they were not told to and others because they were refused permission to do so."

Mr Michael Thredgold, assistant chief fire officer of South Yorkshire County Fire Service, said, however, that those who were considered to need breathing apparatus had it.

One man had asked to wear breathing apparatus on his own, but under safety rules that was not allowed. "We followed advised decontamination procedures appropriate to the incident,"

## Zia makes himself all-powerful by constitution change

From Hassan Akhtar, Islamabad

General Zia ul-Haq has announced sweeping constitutional amendments by clipping the authority of the Prime Minister and providing for an all-powerful President. This is seen as a prelude to replacing martial law by a phased reintroduction of constitutional rule in Pakistan.

General Zia, who spoke on Saturday, said that the amendments would fix a date for ending martial law. Air Marshal Asghar Khan, a leader of the MRD, an all-party movement for the restoration of democracy, who is the only senior opposition leader out of jail or detention, said that General Zia's amendments would perpetuate martial law in a modified form through the amendment.

Miss Benazir Bhutto, daughter of the former Pakistan leader executed by General Zia, said in a statement in London yesterday: "General Zia has exposed his real intentions behind the rigged referendum and the stage-managed elections - that he never entertained any serious idea of transferring power to the elected representatives of the people."

General Zia has set up an 11-member National Security Council, with himself as head and four top men of the armed forces as its members, to deal with any emergency.

The Presidential decree says: "If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter

in respect of which the President is by the constitution empowered to act in his discretion, the decision of the President in his discretion shall be final."

The presidential decree indemnifies all actions of General Zia and his regime since July 1977, and excludes the Superior Court from questioning his authority to amend the constitution. The courts will have little authority in undoing the acts of the President in future.

Indemnity has been acquired possibly by the constitution article 16 of the constitution which deals with subverting the constitution as high treason.

A Government spokesman said the question of the restoration of fundamental rights, including the revival of political parties, has been left to the new Parliament.

The constitutional amendments, originally expected to be announced by mid-February, have been enforced three weeks before the new Parliament meets.

- KARACHI: A member of an organization opposed to martial law has been sentenced to death by a special military court for the murder of a supporter of the Government (AFP reports).

- Ayaz Sammo murdered Ziahoorul Hasan Bhopali, a rightist Karachi politician and supporter of President Zia in September, 1983. Sammo was given six days to appeal.

## Libya threat to back the IRA

Tripoli (AP) - Colonel Qaddafi has threatened that Libya will retaliate against European countries which harbour anti-Libyan "terrorists" by backing Irish, West German and Italian urban guerrillas, the official Libyan news agency Jana reported yesterday.

He also reiterated support for black and Indian separatist nations in the United States, demanded war reparations from Western Europe and announced the formation of a new Arab organization to confront Israel and the US.

Jana said the remarks were made in a lengthy speech delivered on Saturday night during the closing session of the annual meeting of the national legislature, the People's General Congress.

Jana also said the congress approved resolutions calling on Britain to stop sheltering and protecting fugitives from Libyan justice.

- The guidelines which Libya's People's Congress said must be followed before diplomatic relations with Britain can be resumed are unlikely to create much impression in Whitehall (Henry Stanhope writes).

London sources said last night that the demands contained nothing new and Britain did not envisage resumption of full diplomatic relations in the foreseeable future.

## Wellington floats the NZ dollar

From W. P. Reeves, Wellington

The New Zealand dollar from today will float free of the basket of currencies in which it was operated.

At market close on Friday it stood at 44 cents to the US dollar, and this figure is expected to drop, at least at first.

The float conforms to the freer market principles the Labour Government has adopted since its election last July. Its first move was a devaluation of 20 per cent, followed in December by the removal of exchange controls.

More recently the requirement that trading banks and other institutions must hold deposits with the Reserve Bank has been abandoned, announced on Saturday, comes at a time of volatility in the financial market, with a shortage of liquidity aggravated by large capital outflows, and interest rates as high as 80 per cent for short-term borrowers looking to meet annual tax commitments.

- SYDNEY: Security forces were on alert yesterday on the eve of the arrival in Sydney Harbour of two US Navy warships, after anti-nuclear protesters said they would try to stop the vessels (AP reports).

## European notebook

## Minefields of protocol for Pope in Belgium



The Pope tries hard not to mix religion and politics but it is proving extremely difficult for the organizers of his trip to Belgium in May to steer a straight and narrow way for him through the minefields of the kingdom of the Flemish and Walloons and of the European institutions.

The organizers' first problem was caused by the Pope's traditional kiss of greeting to the soil of the land he is visiting. It happens that Brussels International Airport is in Zaventem, a Flemish commune on the eastern fringe of the capital.

Were the Pope to descend the aircraft steps and fall to his knees on Flemish soil, it was felt there would be severe and even dangerous jealousy in the faithful ranks of Wallonia. A Belgian compromise would have to be reached.

The Pope will, in fact, kiss Belgian soil but not at the airport. He will perform this little ritual on carefully chosen bilingual ground at the Cinquantenaire Park in Brussels.

The Pope's visit will be timed throughout with extreme care to make sure that at the end neither Flanders or Wallonia can claim to have been his host for a longer period.

This has made it very difficult to fit in a papal visit to the European institutions. The organizers' second challenge lies in the fact that some of the institutions are based in Brussels but others are not.

Although the European Commission and the Council of Ministers have their "seat" in Brussels, the European Court and the European Parliament do not. The Pope is accordingly due to pay a brief visit to the court in its Luxembourg home before

flying on to Zaventem. But the Parliament is less easy for him to find as it still does not have an official seat.

The Parliament has offices in Brussels and Luxembourg but the Pope has been "warned off" recognizing them by dint of paying them an official visit.

The friendly warning came in the form of a letter from the Bishop of Strasbourg to the Vatican in the early days of the planning of the tour. It reminded the organizers that the Parliament had no test and that it would thus be wrong to give it any recognition, particularly in Brussels.

M. Pierre Pfimlin, the Parliament's president and long-serving Mayor of Strasbourg, is known to have been very anxious that no encouragement should be given by the Holy See to the loud lobby of MEPs who want to see all the Parliament's work permanently based in Brussels.

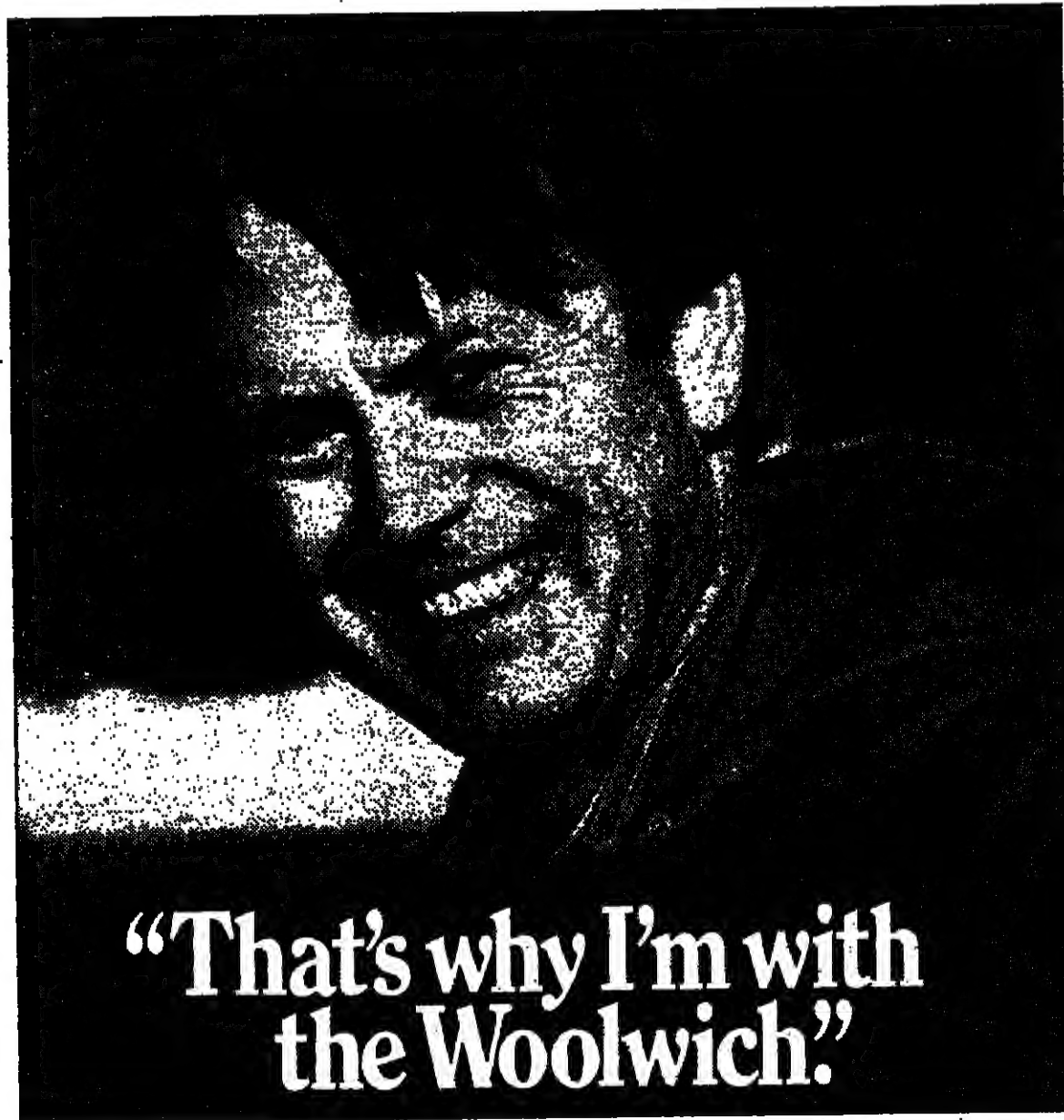
Presumably mindful of this protocol, the organizers did not include M. Pfimlin in the first invitation list for the hour-long official visit the Pope is to make to the institutions in the Commission's rotunda canteen.

These niceties of community protocol have not involved the Roman Catholic Church in Belgium, which is traditionally one of the strongest in the world. But the Church is worried that the visit could show up the fact that the country is becoming considerably less faithful than its popular image would indicate.

With all these worries it is possible to think that the Pope might be tempted to kiss the Court and the European Parliament on board at Zaventem at the end of the visit.

Ian Murray

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## A smuggler, a rapist and a crime godfather bid for votes in Bihar

From Michael Hamlyn, Delhi

Election day in the second most populous Indian state of Bihar turned out to be a massacre. Twenty-nine people died in a day of violence which confirms the state's reputation as one where the political law of the jungle runs free. More than 100 people were reported injured.

Politics in Bihar is deeply penetrated by men with guns and long criminal records for murder, smuggling, illicit liquor-dealing, rape and abduction.

The more respectable politicians find it hard to get such people about at election time. Polling stations may be captured to prevent the opposition from voting; rival castes may be terrorised into non-attendance; rival candidates may be eliminated, and their supporters discouraged.

During elections for the State Assembly this weekend, polling was suspended in several areas after violent clashes between rival castes. Five people were killed and 12 hurt when police opened fire to disperse the brawling groups. Police arrested 200 people and seized a large quantity of arms and bombs.

The police themselves are not always to be relied on, and a constable was arrested driving a jeepload of guns around one constituency, with what were described as "suspicious persons".

The officers in charge of three polling stations in another constituency were arrested when it was discovered that the votes had been polled before the doors opened to the public. Two candidates died as they and their followers exchanged fire in another electoral district.

Bihar politics rejoices in such men as Bir Bahadur Singh, a member of the outgoing legislative assembly seeking reelection. He is described as an impulsive short-tempered man, possibly schizophrenic. He once pushed a ticket collector out of a speeding train because he had asked to see his ticket.

According to a report in the magazine *Sunday* yesterday, Singh was just another Rajput landlord's son until his father was murdered by a man from a backward caste. He avenged the death and established a reputation as a lord-protector of Rajput interests.

"He became a ruthless killer whose personal army struck terror especially among the backward castes", the magazine says.

He was praised by his caste brothers, and employed by them for political "assistance". In 1980, he used the muscle that had helped others to help himself to membership of the Assembly as an Independent. Since then he has been to jail and detained under the National Security Act several times.

"During the by-elections he was even bailed out of jail to oversee booth-capturing operations", *Sunday* says.

While Bir Bahadur is an Independent, a number of criminals appear on the list of Congress (I) candidates, despite the claims of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to be cleaning up the image of his party.

They include a smuggler, a rapist, a man reputed to be the Dada of Patna, the local equivalent of a Mafia godfather, and a man from Muzzafarpur, who is said to be so powerful that he runs a parallel administration there.



Paris winner: American director Milos Forman receiving a Cesar, the French Oscar, for *Amadeus*, judged best foreign film. With him is actress Gina Lollobrigida.

## King Hassan vows to keep Sahara

Marrakesh (AP) — Morocco will never give up the Western Sahara, King Hassan said yesterday but confirmed that he is continuing secret negotiations with Algeria.

In a nationwide television broadcast marking the annual Throne Festival, the two-day national holiday, King Hassan vigorously defended his treaty of union with Colonel Gaddafi of Libya and emphasized that

the treaty "is not directed against anyone".

Algeria and Morocco have hovered on the brink of war for nearly 10 years over Algeria's all-out support for the Polisario guerrillas fighting for the independence of the former Spanish Sahara.

King Hassan's decision last week to cancel plans to celebrate the Throne Festival

for the first time in La'youne, capital of the Western Sahara, was widely interpreted as a conciliatory gesture to President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria.

The King's speech contained no attack on President Chadli or the Algerian leadership, but he made it clear that he was determined never to concede an inch of Western Sahara to the guerrillas or anyone else.

## Nkomo scorns siege of Bulawayo as Zanu election stunt

From Jan Raath, Harare

Zimbabwe security forces yesterday held under virtual siege the black townships around the western city of Bulawayo for the second day.

A Government spokesman has said the operation was intended to prevent a recurrence of last week's political violence. But Mr Joshua Nkomo, president of the opposition party, Zanu, yesterday said in Harare that it was an "election stunt" to demoralize his party before the elections expected in June.

Before dawn on Saturday, hundreds of soldiers, police and members of the paramilitary support wing of the police, ringed the sprawling western suburbs of the city, where most of the city's population lives in sub-economic housing.

The flow of traffic to and from the townships was stopped at roadblocks set up even in the city centre. Several helicopters with high-powered loudspeakers broadcast "key shouts" instructing residents to stay indoors.

Mr Nkomo yesterday said at his Harare home that he had received no reports of arrests, and spoke of the civil conduct of the security forces. He was contradicted from Bulawayo by Mr Welshman Mabhena, the Zanu secretary-general, who said that hundreds had been held; he had also received reports of severe beatings.

Mr Nkomo and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the United African National Council, were

to have addressed a funeral on Saturday for five UNAC members shot dead by Zanu (PF) supporters at the northern town of Hwange a week ago, as well as for a Zanu youth shot dead by police during rioting in Bulawayo.

Zanu, which derives most support from the Ndebele-speaking population of the Western provinces of Matabeleland, and the UANC, which has some support in urban areas of the east, are the main opposition to Zanu (PF), the party of Mr Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister.

Mr Nkomo said he had spent Saturday in Bulawayo, arriving at dawn when the sloop was already in full swing. He spent the day at the home of friend in the eastern suburbs, and drove back to Harare early on Sunday after finding he could not influence the situation.

He was not impressed with the Government's reasons for the sloop. "It is to demoralize people before elections, it is an election stunt. It is to make them be confused, and not vote, or vote for Zanu (PF)", he said.

Police had not given him a senior officer as escort through what he called the "Siegfried line". He proposed to protest in the strongest terms to Mr Simbi Muboko, Minister of Home Affairs, at the military operation.

The last such operation was in 1983: soon afterwards Mr Nkomo fled to Botswana and thence to Britain.

## Bankrupt millionaire faces new charges

From Our Correspondent, Delhi

The world's largest personal bankrupt, Mr Rajendra Sethi, from Haryana, north-west London, who went broke in London in January, owing his creditors £170 million, has been arrested in Delhi and locked up for seven days to await a possible extradition request from Britain.

Mr Sethi, aged 38, who is said still to be a multi-millionaire in the United States, left Britain before police proceedings could be taken against him. He had a summons served on him in Spain, and arrived recently in India, where friends say he felt he would be more comfortable if arrested than in any foreign country. He travels on an Indian passport.

In fact, he may not be so comfortable, as the Central Bureau of Investigation is preparing a case against him for alleged fraud against three Indian banks.

While asking for a remand in custody, the CBI told the Delhi magistrate that Mr Sethi had

defrauded the Punjab National Bank, the Central Bank of India and the Union Bank of India of several million pounds, in collusion with bank officials.

All the banks are government-owned. Directors of several Indian banks were dismissed recently by order of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, including the chairman of the Punjab National Bank and the Central Bank of India.

The chairman of the Union Bank was spared, since he has undertaken to recover the 200 million rupees (£14 million) it was owed.

In his submission to the Delhi metropolitan magistrate, Mr Sethi pleaded that he was in no position to pay back the loans as he had not received money for the goods supplied, and that he had come to India to collect funds from various sources for repayment to the banks.

Both have clashed continuously with Lieutenant-General Ershad's three-year-old military regime.

## Bangladesh opposition leaders held

Dhaka (AFP) — Bangladesh's

two leading Opposition leaders have been placed under house arrest, relatives and Opposition sources said here yesterday.

Sheikh Hasina Wajed and Begum Khaleda Zia are confined to their homes and prevented from receiving visitors, said the sources, who asked not to be named. Police have cordoned off their property.

President Ershad on Friday reimposed martial law, cancelled general elections planned for April 6, banned all political activity and announced a referendum on March 21 to seek a vote of confidence.

Sheikh Hasina Wajed heads the Bangladesh Awami League, the mainstay of the Opposition 15-party alliance. Begum Khaleda Zia is leader of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, the senior partner in a seven-party grouping.

Both have clashed continuously with Lieutenant-General Ershad's three-year-old military regime.

## MEPs will press Britain to accept veto change

By Philip Webster, Political Reporter

A European parliamentary delegation, led by a British Conservative, is to press Britain next month to accept a more sparing use of the veto in Community decision-making as a contribution to greater European unity and co-operation.

MEPs led by Mr Christopher Jackson (East Kent) will see Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, on April 24 as part of Parliament's efforts to persuade member governments to adopt the controversial new treaty on European union which it passed last year.

The treaty's key proposal, opposed by Britain, is that the veto would be phased out over 10 years. The veto has been blamed for stultifying the Community's growth because of the power it gives a single

government to stop any initiative of which it disapproves.

However much countries like Britain may dislike the treaty, they are being forced to give it serious consideration because of its provision that if it is ratified by a majority of the member states, comprising more than two-thirds of the Community's total population, it can be brought into force.

The prospect exists, therefore, that the original six members of the Community could go ahead and adopt the treaty in view of their profound dissatisfaction with the way the Community has developed.

British MEPs believe the Government may be prepared to accept a system under which countries who use the veto must explain their reasons.

## Bush visit boost for Sudan

From Michael Prest

Khartoum

American concern about the crisis in Sudan will be underlined today when the US vice-president, Mr George Bush, arrives here with a top-level delegation to begin a four-day visit.

Sudan is believed to be taking this opportunity to make a conciliatory gesture towards rebels in the south, who are attempting to topple President Nimeiry's government.

Sources in the Sudan Socialist Union, the ruling party, indicated that the President might be willing to make changes in economic policy acceptable to aid donors and to the International Monetary Fund.

Officially, Mr Bush's aim is to acquire first hand knowledge of drought, famine and refugee problems. After visiting Sudan

## French crew seized

Paris (AP) — The five-man crew of a French Air Force transport plane has been taken hostage by rebels in northern Ethiopia, the Defence Ministry said yesterday. The incident occurred in Lalibela, in Wollo province about 190 miles north of Addis Ababa. The crew was on a humanitarian mission.

He will go to Niger and Mali. On March 11 he is due to attend the Geneva UN conference on aid for the region.

The vice-president is accompanied by Mr Chester Crocker, assistant secretary at the State Department for African Affairs; Mr Peter Macpherson, director of USAID, and senior Peace Corps representatives.

He will go to Kassala, where

more than a million Ethiopian refugees have settled in the past five months, and to El Obeid, where drought is particularly severe.

High-level sources here say Mr Bush is unlikely to bring offers of further American aid. The US provides economic assistance worth \$50 million.

Sudan is still rattled by reports, subsequently denied, that America is about to cut off aid because of gross economic mismanagement by the Nimeiry that the aid will continue.

The Government here is playing up the visit for all it is worth. Big signs have sprung up overnight in Khartoum saying "Long Live the Sudanese-American Struggle for Global Peace" and "The National Capital Halls Vice President and Mrs Bush".



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## Preparing for East/West arms bargaining

## American delegation will brief Nato on strategy before Star Wars debate

From Nicholas Ashford, Washington

The entire American delegation to the new round of arms control talks which get underway in Geneva on March 12 is to fly to Brussels next Monday to brief top Nato officials on US strategy.

This unprecedented move, revealed by Mr Richard Burt, the State Department's top specialist on European and Soviet affairs during an interview with *The Times*, is intended to cement allied unity in the face of a concerted Soviet propaganda campaign aimed at using President Reagan's controversial "Star Wars" space defence research programme to drive a wedge between the US and its European allies.

Mr Burt, who will accompany the US team to Brussels, said it was likely that President Reagan would send a personal message to the Nato meeting about the US approach to the Geneva talks.

Three sets of talks will be held in Geneva under one negotiating "umbrella". They will deal with intermediate-range nuclear force (INF), strategic and space weapons.

The US delegation will be led by Mr Max Kampelman who will also head the US team at the space weapons talks. The other two US negotiators will be former Senator John Tower (strategic weapons) and Mr Maynard Glitman (INF missiles).

Mr Burt said he believed the US had successfully managed to allay initial European concerns about the President's strategic defence initiative, as "Star Wars" is officially termed. But he conceded that Moscow would try to revive European doubts about this initiative once the talks get underway.

He also believed the Soviet Union would try to drive a wedge between the Administration and the US Congress in the hope that Congress will withhold or reduce funding for the project.

Mr Burt compared Moscow's plans to divide the alliance and turn the European public against their leaders with the Soviet propaganda offensive directed against the deployment of American INF (cruise and Pershing) missiles two years ago.

"In a way, the President's strategic defence initiative has become the 1983 counterpart to INF in 1983", he said. The Soviet Union was clearly trying to direct international attention at the American space research programme rather than their own, which was already well ahead of the US, he added.

Mr Burt admitted that the concept of a space defence system was "fairly breathtaking" because it involved a complete rethinking of deterrence doctrine. The long-term American objective is to have a

deterrence system based on defensive rather than offensive weapons.

"This will be a long and slow process and will require a great deal of consensus-building within the alliance. You cannot expect the Alliance to go through a process like this overnight", he said.

Mr Burt said he expected the Soviet Union would attempt to hold progress on reducing INF, and strategic weapons hostage to American concessions on space weapons.

"What they will do is dangle before the western public the potential for real agreements on offensive forces, particularly on INF, and suggest that they are prepared to agree to a very attractive proposal if the US makes concessions on its strategic defence initiative."

He stressed, however, that it was important to differentiate between the Soviet Union's public posture and the position it will adopt at the negotiating table.

"I cannot say whether they will come forward with plausible negotiating proposals this time," he said. "The real question is whether they have learnt a lesson from the INF talks and do not again try to use a propaganda campaign as a substitute for genuine negotiations."

## Cruise in mind as Thatcher sees Martens

By Henry Stanhope

Diplomatic Correspondent

Mr Wilfried Martens, the Belgian Prime Minister, shared a rare Anglo-Belgian summit at Chequers with Mrs Margaret Thatcher at the weekend, after reports that his Government might finally announce this week that it is ready to accept American cruise missiles.

It is thought that there was also some discussion on the future of the European Community amid speculation that France, West Germany and the Benelux countries are planning to become more "common" than the other members.

Sources on both sides last night played down the significance of the four-hour meeting between Martens, who was accompanied by Mr Leo Tindemans, his Foreign Minister, and Mrs Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary.

It had been arranged four months ago and was characterized as a very informal "fireside" chat which ranged over 20 subjects.

But the Belgians are known to be among those with misgivings about Britain's long-term commitment to the development of Europe.

Sources would not disclose what assurances, if any, Mr Martens gave the British ministers on cruise missiles. But the Belgian missile base became operational for the first time on Friday, with the 850 US personnel exercising with dummy missiles.

## Kremlin envoy's US trip signals thaw in relations

From Richard Owen

Moscow

The visit to the United States by Mr Vladimir Shcherbitsky, a Politburo member, is seen here as a sign of the continuing thaw in Soviet-American relations on the eve of the Geneva arms talks - in spite of harsh Soviet rhetoric over arms control. Mr Shcherbitsky, aged 67, arrived in New York yesterday. A Ukrainian with a tough, blue-collar background, he has hardline views. He is to meet President Reagan during an 11-day trip which includes visits to Texas, San Francisco and Washington.

Although Mr Shcherbitsky is not considered one of the Politburo "inner circle", his visit will give American officials an opportunity to assess Soviet policy at first hand. Mr Shcherbitsky is a Congress guest and heads a Supreme Soviet (parliament) delegation.

He is the first Politburo member to visit the United States for more than a decade, with the exception of Mr Andrei Gromyko, the Foreign Minister. Mr Gromyko regularly visits the United States, especially on United Nations business. Last September he met Mr Reagan in the White House as the superpowers prepared to resume arms talks.

The Soviet press maintained its attacks on the Reagan Administration's "Star Wars" programme at the weekend, describing it as an "aggressive

## Nuclear winter fear

The Pentagon has for the first time acknowledged that a nuclear war could result in a "nuclear winter" by plunging the earth into sub-freezing temperatures. A report prepared by the Defence Department said such a war would cause mushrooming clouds of smoke and dust that could block the Sun, causing freezing temperatures and mass deaths. The report is used to justify Star Wars research.

plan for the militarization of outer space" but avoided personal attacks on Mr Reagan, once portrayed by Moscow as a mentally unbalanced and trigger-happy cowboy with Nazi-style ambitions and views.

Mr Shcherbitsky will end his American visit as talks get under way in Geneva on March 12. An engineer by training, he made his party career in Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine and entered the Politburo as a full member in 1971. He has been party leader in the Ukraine since 1972. He was a close associate of the late President Brezhnev, whose trip to America in 1973 was one of the highpoints of détente.

● MOSCOW: A Chinese parliamentary delegation arrived in Moscow yesterday for an official visit to the Soviet Union, the latest sign of increasing contacts between the estranged communist neighbours (AP reports).



Trading smiles: Lord Young posing with a policeman for photographs at ancient tombs near Peking during a break in trade talks yesterday. (China deal, page 17)

## UN aid fund takes the hat around

From John Earle

Rome

The President of the United Nations International Fund for Agricultural Development (Ifad), Mr Idriss Jazairy, has a busy month of personal diplomacy ahead to ensure that the rescue operation agreed in principle in Rome last week gets under way.

Ifad, quite distinct from the Food and Agriculture Organization, is broke. After a meeting of member countries last Thursday and Friday, Mr Jazairy, aged 48, an Algerian diplomat with a British mother, said: "We were wondering if Ifad was going to live or disappear. We know it is going to live."

Between now and April 1, when the members reconvene, he is contacting member governments to pin them down on figures for future contributions.

These will in any case be less than the \$1 billion for 1981-83. Since 1983 Ifad has had a hand-to-mouth existence on funds left over from the earlier period.

Mr Jazairy is suggesting four possible variants for the years 1983-87, ranging from a minimum of \$500 million to a maximum of \$650 million.

Ifad, said to be the most cost-effective of the UN agencies - its 100 officials take up only 5 per cent of its revenue - lends cheaply to small farmers and peasants in the Third World.

Rather than providing stop-gap aid against famine today, it helps to lay the structures to prevent famine tomorrow. In seven years, it has dispersed more than \$2 billion for 160 grassroots projects in 84 countries.

The fund has a unique voting structure. Member countries fall into three categories, industrialized, Opec and developing, each of which has power to veto. Hitherto the industrialized countries have provided about 58 per cent of the resources and Opec about 42 per cent. But this structure ran into crisis.

## Ultimatum by Contras helps Reagan argument

From Martha Honey, San José, Costa Rica

Some sixty Nicaraguan rebel leaders signed in Costa Rica at the weekend a document setting the Sandinista government a tough ultimatum. Sure to be rejected, it will nevertheless provide a tool for the Reagan Administration to convince a reluctant US Congress to resume military aid to the Contras.

The five-page document gives Nicaragua until March 20 to carry out sweeping reforms, including a ceasefire, lifting the state of emergency, restoration of civil liberties, and an amnesty for political prisoners and exiles. It then

proposes a one-month period for negotiation on ten points leading to new presidential elections.

Dr Arturo Cruz, leading Nicaraguan politician in exile, said: "This document reflects the entire external and internal opposition's support to a last call to the Sandinistas for peace through democracy."

The accord, result of weeks of intense negotiations and rebel officials say, strongly backed by the Reagan Administration, is viewed as a first step towards setting up, within six months, a rebel provisional government.

## Cabinet unanimous about Syrian front

## Israel to start second pullback

From Christopher Walker, Jerusalem

In the face of continuing ambushes and a new threat of revenge attacks against northern Israel, the Israeli Cabinet yesterday voted unanimously for an immediate start to the second stage of the three-stage withdrawal from Lebanon to the border.

After the vote, Mr David Kimche, director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, said that the new hardline policy to root out Shia Muslim "terrorists" in southern Lebanon would be intensified as a result of the weekend threat from Mr Nabih Berri, the Lebanese Shia leader, of reprisal raids against Galilee.

Mr Kimche told *The Times* that Mr Berri and other Lebanese leaders were largely responsible for recent tough Israeli military policy in occupied Lebanon by their encouragement of attacks against Israeli troops pulling back.

In Cabinet, ministers set no deadline for completing stage two, which involves disengaging from the cheek-by-jowl confrontation with Syrian forces in eastern Lebanon. Military sources predict that it will be over by mid-May.

## Shultz and Ortega give Contadora new hope

From Douglas Tweedale

Montevideo

Latin American and European leaders are optimistic that the Contadora peace process can be salvaged to play a useful role in settling the crisis in central America after the weekend talks here between Mr George Shultz, the US Secretary of State, and President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua.

The two men met after attending the inauguration of Señor Julio Sanguinetti as the first civilian president of Uruguay for 11 years.

Asked about his meeting with Señor Ortega, Mr Shultz said: "I don't know that anything has changed, although perhaps there is a recognition all round that the Contadora process has to be the centre of any negotiations, and the sooner everyone realizes that and gets the process started, the better."

Señor Ortega said he had proposed that the US-Nicaragua resume regular bilateral negotiations along the lines of talks held at Mexico.

The Nicaraguan president confirmed they will release Señor José Urbina Lara, a student arrested after he had sought refuge in Costa Rica's Embassy in Managua, thus putting an end to a diplomatic row cited by Costa Rica as the reason for its withdrawal from the Contadora process last month.

The Colombian president, Belisario Betancur announced on Saturday that contacts to have Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras sign the Act of Contadora (a draft peace treaty for central America) can resume as a result of the political agreement made in Montevideo.

"I expect we will have a very constructive month of March moving towards the Act of Contadora," Señor Betancur said.

## Armenians jailed for Orly bombing

Paris (Reuters)

An Armenian was sentenced to life imprisonment yesterday and two others to 10 and 15 years for the bombing at Orly airport two years ago which killed eight people and injured 56. Waroujan Garbidian, aged 31, received a life sentence for being an accomplice to the bombing, but was not formally convicted on a charge of planting the fatal device. He had admitted membership of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, which claimed responsibility for the attack.

Ohannes Semerci and Soner Nair, both 24, were jailed for 10 and 15 years respectively on charges of having supplied equipment to make the bomb.

## Avalanche toll of 11 feared

Zermatt (AP) - Eleven people were feared dead in Switzerland's worst avalanche disaster in 15 years as rescuers, under the constant threat of new slides, searched for three tourists still missing.

Eight bodies, including two West German tourists, were recovered after the avalanche had swept a car and a mini-bus off the Alpine road leading to this Matterhorn resort.

## Heart scare

Louisville, Kentucky (AP) - Surgeons closed a tiny opening inside the chest of Murray Haydon, stemming the bleeding that had plagued the world's third artificial heart patient for days. He was said to be in a critical but stable condition.

## Shuttle halted

Washington (Reuters) - Thursday's launch of the US space shuttle Challenger has been postponed indefinitely due to electrical problems in a communications satellite it was to put in orbit.

## Air safety deal

Tokyo (AFP) - The US, the Soviet Union and Japan have reached basic agreement to establish an emergency communication system to avoid a repeat of the 1983 shooting down of a Korean airliner, the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* business daily said.

## Gulf POWs freed

Ankara (Reuters) - Iran handed over 27 wounded and disabled Iraqi prisoners of war to Iraqi officials at Ankara airport in a transfer supervised by the Turkish Red Crescent.

## Bushfires kill 2

Canberra (Reuters) - Hundreds of firefighters battled the worst bushfires in 25 years to hit Australia's capital territory, in which two people died and many were injured.

## Uganda poll

Kampala (Reuters) - Uganda will hold general elections this year, the second since the overthrow of dictator Idi Amin.

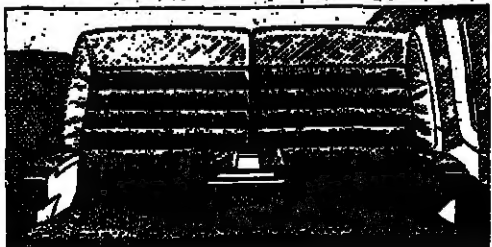
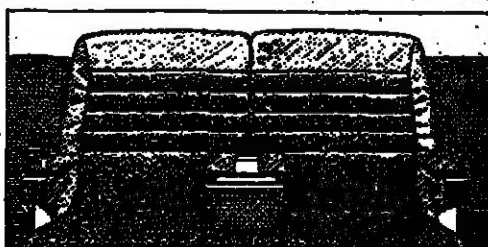
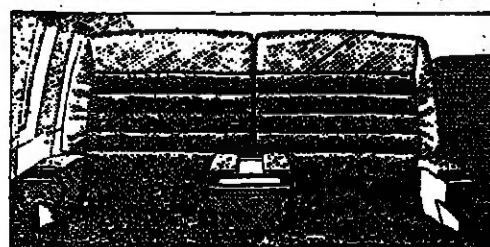
## Mind your head

Nairobi - Demand for human heads for mixing witchcraft potions is worrying authorities in Kenya's Mount Elgon district near the Uganda border.

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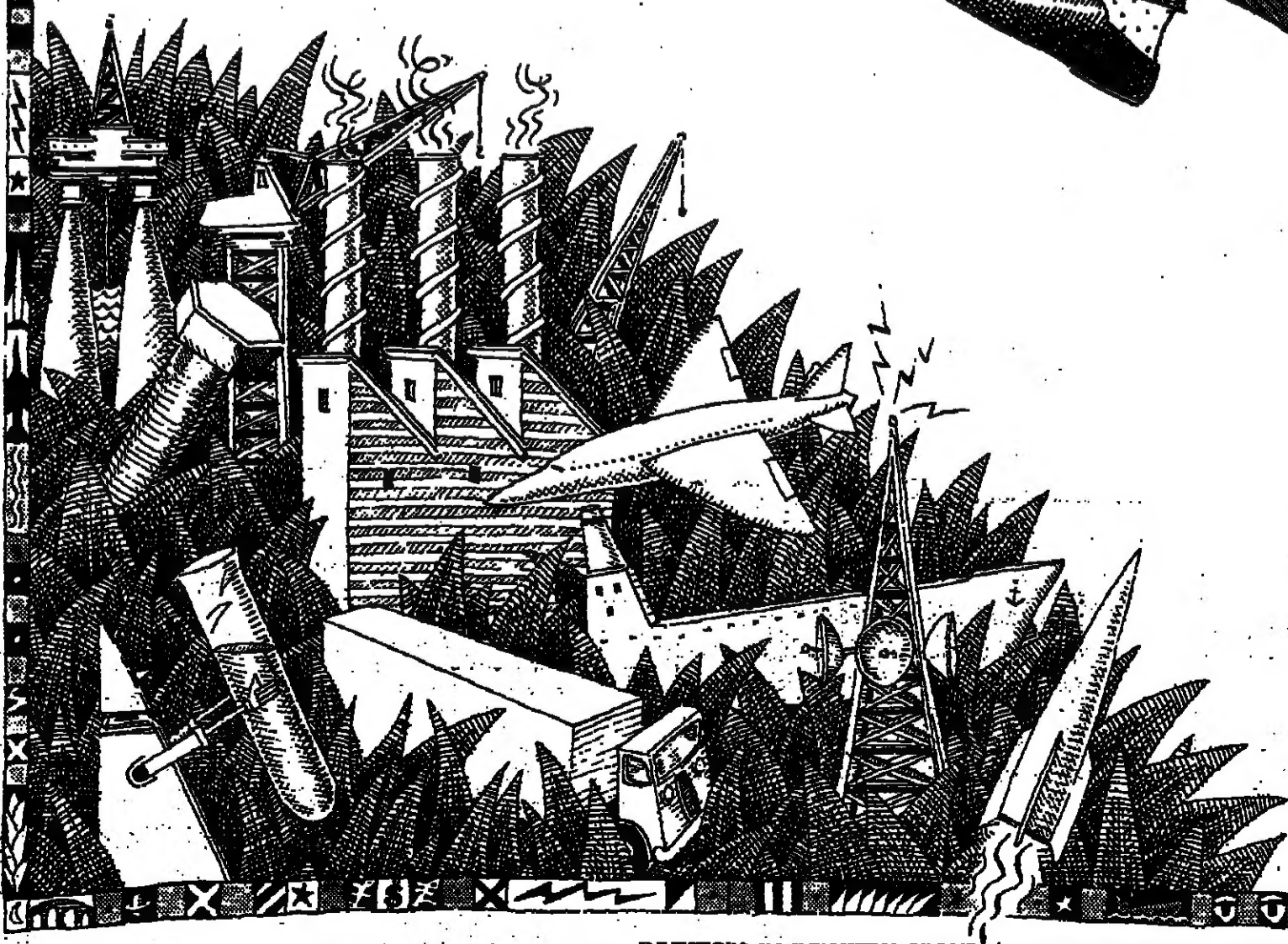
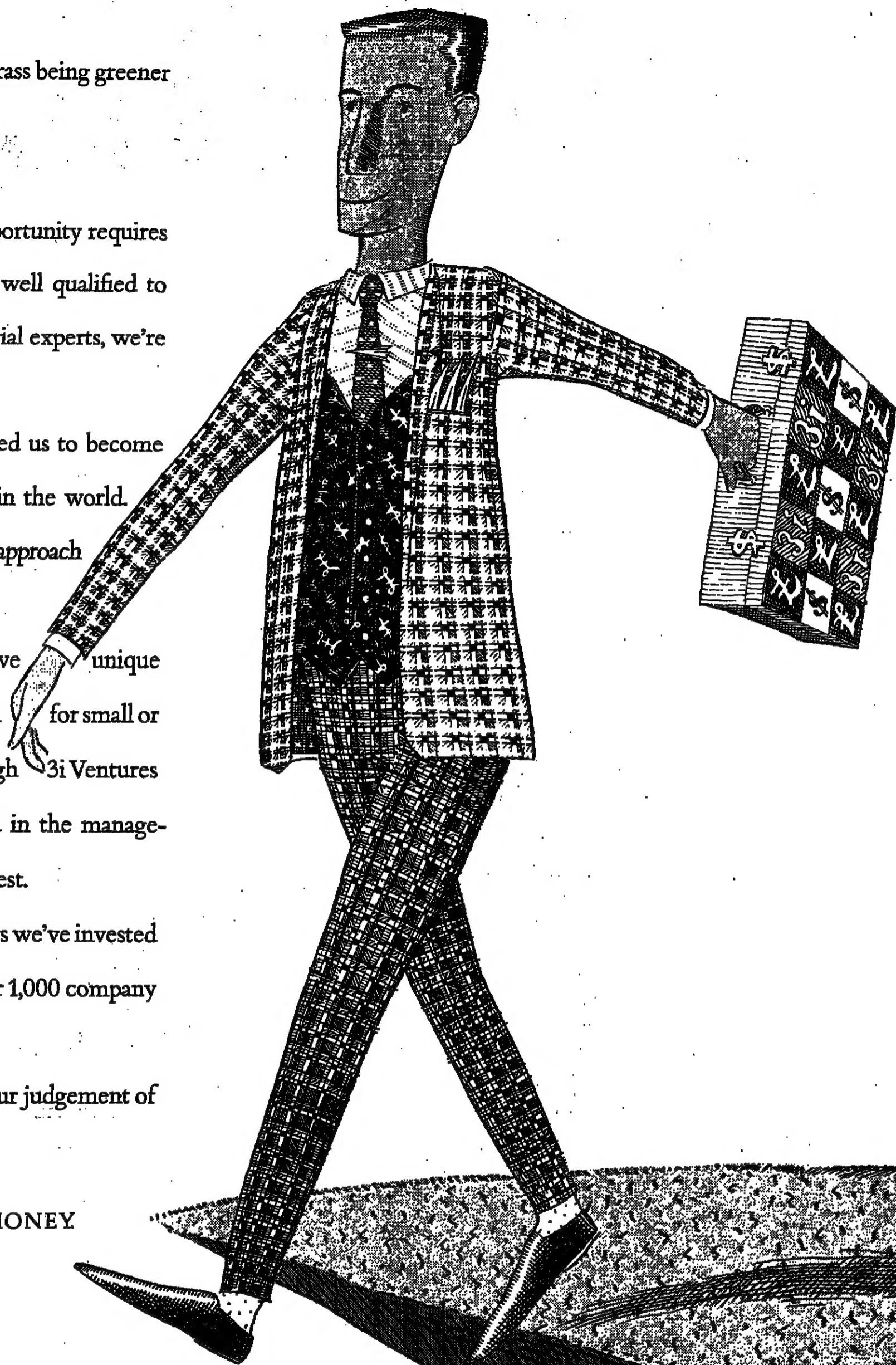
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# Moscow's shift in trade towards Europe will bring benefits to Britain

From Richard Owen, Moscow

Britain stands to benefit substantially from a decisive shift in Soviet trade away from the United States and towards western Europe, according to both Soviet sources and Western businessmen.

To some extent the boost for British companies is a direct result of the successful visit to London last year of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the young and energetic Kremlin No. 2. But sources say there has also been a conscious Kremlin decision to encourage west European, and to a lesser extent Japanese, involvement in major industrial projects in the next five-year plan, 1986-1990.

Western businessmen note that once projects have been decided upon for a five-year plan they are "removed from the realm of economic theory and have to be fully implemented". The projects, some of which are worth \$1 billion, are the subject of keen competitive bidding.

Mr Boris Ponomarev, the candidate Politburo member, told *The Times* that nowadays Russia felt like "a girl with many suitors clamouring for her favours".

Soviet-American trade has declined since the heyday of détente except for such specialized areas as annual exports of US grain. Soviet officials say the Kremlin has become wary of trade with the United States

because of its fear of trade embargoes or political sanctions.

Both President Carter's grain embargo after the invasion of Afghanistan and President Reagan's attempt to stop Western firms exporting technology for the Siberian-European natural gas pipeline have had profound effects on Soviet thinking and planning.

Sources say that the Soviet economy, despite continuing low growth rates and poor planning, as well as central planning deficiencies, has shown a modest upturn over the past year, leading state planners to canvas more foreign investment.

Diplomats say the Soviet tilt towards western Europe has a distinct political purpose, since it serves the overall Soviet aim of exacerbating divisions within NATO and "decoupling" western Europe from the US.

In a recent speech in Moscow, Mr Gorbachev, who is regarded as being in day-to-day charge while Mr Chernenko is ill, remarked pointedly that the Soviet Union "never forgot that the world was much larger than the US, and said the Kremlin was encouraged by western Europe's desire for dialogue with Russia.

Britain is seen as a valuable future trade partner, partly because Mrs Thatcher has

consistently softened her rhetoric on East-West issues over the past year, and partly because of Britain's role in supplying technology for the controversial gas pipeline.

There have been more British trade delegations in Moscow, and an exhibition in February of British agricultural and food packaging expertise aroused considerable interest. ICI signed a £7 million contract to supply agricultural chemicals, and pedigree livestock imported for the exhibition was bought on the spot.

Big industrial projects in the next five-year plan for which British firms are favoured bidders include a polyester plant at Blagoveshchensk, not far from UFA in the Bashkir republic, for which ICI and Davy McKee are the front runners. Other projects include a polyolefins plastics factory at Prikumsk in the Caucasus, for which John Brown is a leading bidder, and a long-term contract for a polyester and nylon plant.

West German and Italian firms are also being encouraged to benefit from the new policy. Japanese firms are reported to be interested in joint agreements with the Russians for oil and gas exploration off Sakhalin island in the Far East.

Anglo-Soviet trade rose last year by \$400 million to reach £1,589 million, and Britain's trade deficit was halved.

## Riot deaths a catalyst for violence

Indonesia, with the fifth largest population in the world, has been likened to a sleeping giant. In the first of two articles Stephen Taylor examines the political situation.

At least 70 people have been tried or held on charges related to political unrest in Indonesia in the past six months. Jakarta, the capital, has witnessed its worst riot in a decade. A string of targets, including the awe-inspiring Borobudur temple, have been singled out for bomb and arson attacks.

After a long period of relative calm and considerable economic progress, Indonesian affairs have started to echo more turbulent times. The question being raised in the country, and in neighbouring states, is whether this is a phase or a trend.

The September riot in Jakarta's Tanjung Priok area, in which at least 30 people were killed when troops opened fire on a mob, is widely acknowledged as a turning point. Before that objections by a range of groups outside the ruling military-technocratic circle to legislative proposals had been vocal but peaceful. Since then a radical minority of fundamentalist Muslims have resorted to violent protest.

Tanjung Priok was a catalyst, says a leading member of the Group of 50, a small but elite group of former politicians and military men



Key figures in the Jakarta succession: (from left) General Benny Murdani, General Hartono Dharsano and President Suharto.

who claim to retain influence within President Suharto's 18-year-old administration, although disaffected with it. "I am afraid once again it is being shown that there are other ways to resist."

Since coming to power as a young general after a communist coup attempt in 1965, President Suharto has forged national stability out of Indonesia's fragmented geographical base (about 6,000 of the 13,677 islands are inhabited) and ethnic diversity, with what analysts describe as a consummate political performance.

The same period has witnessed phenomenal economic growth.

But long-simmered opposition has been generated by the Government's intention to push five bills through Parliament, widely seen as a framework for a post-Suharto administration. The most controversial demands that all religious and social organizations adopt the state ideology of Pancasila. All political organizations have already complied with such a ruling.

Few Indonesians have any objections to the actual prin-

ciples of Pancasila - belief in God, humanitarianism, democracy and social justice - but religious groups, and specifically Muslims who make up 90 per cent of the population, see the Bill as an unwarranted intrusion in spiritual affairs, and as a threat.

The Group of 50, an irritant rather than a threat to the administration, which it accuses of having abandoned all five principles, has joined the protest, condemning the Bill as an attempt to institutionalize a military dictatorship tainted by human rights violations.

The Government, for its part, has historical reasons for concern over militant Islam, elements of which have been seeking to turn Indonesia into a theocratic state since the 1950s, and sees the Bill as a controlling device.



INDONESIA Part I

Diplomatic sources in Jakarta also believe that by writing it into law, President Suharto is trying to establish Pancasila as a stabilizing ideological legacy at a time when he is reportedly considering standing down.

The bomb and arson attacks show little sign of being part of a co-ordinated campaign. All that can be said for certain is that a group of Muslim activists connected with the riot were also involved in the most serious subsequent incident, the October bombing of three Jakarta banks in which two people were killed.

The state is also trying to prove a connection with the Group of 50. One prominent dissident, Mr. Mahammad Samud, a former minister, has denied financing the bank attacks.

Another eminent critic of the Government, detained since the troubles started, is General Hartono Dharsano, a former secretary-general of Asean, who is regarded as a Group of 50 sympathizer. No move has been made to charge him but if he were it would be a serious step, possibly signalling a crackdown on the group as a whole.

The Government has shown some disposition to mollify the Muslim establishment since the riots. General Benny Murdani, armed forces commander and Indonesia's second most powerful man, met Islamic scholars in an attempt to reassure them that there would be no interference with legitimate religious activity.

There is a widespread perception now that fundamentalist Islam has again become a banner and shield for the disaffected. One observer said: "There is little opportunity for the individual to be heard. It is the mosque or the street."

But a leading Indonesian journalist added: "The country is mature enough, stable enough for there to be greater frankness in public debate."

Tomorrow: Foreign policy

## Poles set to protest at food price rise

From Roger Boyes, Warsaw

Accusing the Jaruzelski Government of a "cynicism", Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said at the weekend that he expected angry protests today in response to a sharp rise in the price of bread, flour, rice and other basic foodstuffs.

The Polish leadership, responding to criticism from the new pro-Communist trade unions, the public and Solidarity, announced last week that it would not go ahead with an across-the-board food price rise planned for March.

Instead, it would increase prices in three phases, with the main increase affecting meat, occurring in early summer when the shops are relatively full.

Flustered by the Government retreat, Solidarity called off a short general strike planned for February 28. But on Friday, the authorities declared that phase one of the food price rises would begin on Monday and that they would include bread, the price of which is politically sensitive.

"The authorities have introduced a variant of the price increases in a cynical way," said Mr Walesa in a tape recorded message played over his phone in Gdansk. "We expect protests on March 4, although we have not planned any. Workers have the right not to agree to the galloping decline in living standards and the lack of hope for real reform."

"The struggle for bread and freedom," said Mr Walesa, echoing the shouts of demonstrating workers during the upheavals of 1956, "is our sacred duty."

The Government target is to increase overall prices by about 12 to 13 per cent this year. It argues that the price of food and fuel is still uneconomic, draining huge subsidies away from the budget. With membership of the International Monetary Fund now a realistic prospect, the Poles would clearly have to push up their prices even if their own economic reform plans did not dictate such changes.

But in 1956, 1970, 1976 and 1980-81, Polish governments were toppled or humiliated when workers took to the streets protesting at price rises or cuts in real wages. Price increases remain the most sensitive issue on the political agenda for General Jaruzelski.

## Kyprianou to revive dialogue

From Mario Modiano, Athens

President Kyprianou of Cyprus is preparing to resume international initiatives at a time when his representative role is being challenged by the main Cypriot political parties and the conservative Opposition in Greece.

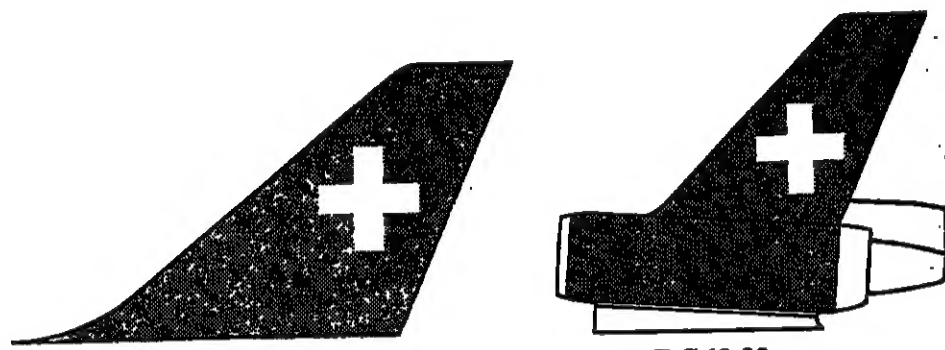
Mr Kyprianou flies to London on Thursday for his deferred meeting with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and then goes to Geneva for a conference on March 11 with Señor Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the UN Secretary-General, to discuss resumption of his efforts to bring about a Cyprus settlement.

Before setting out from Nicosia the Cypriot President will try to open a dialogue with political leaders who have been pressing him either to comply with the will of parliament's majority, or resign and call elections.

So far the reactions of Mr Giakos Clerides, leader of the right-wing Democratic Rally and of the communists to the President's refusal to resign and his call for a compromise, were brusquely negative.

NEW YORK: President Kyprianou said in an interview published yesterday that the US was in a better position than the United Nations to bring about a solution to the problems of the divided island (Reuter reports)

## The familiar sign of a good flight.



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## Labour holds Victoria but majority reduced

From Tony Duboulin, Melbourne

The Victorian state Labour government retained power in Saturday's election but with a reduced majority after a swing of nearly 2 per cent against it. In Canberra yesterday, Mr Bob Hawke, the Prime Minister, was quick to discount any connection between the swing in Victoria and the recent dispute over MX missile testing.

Mr Hawke said local issues, such as increased state taxes and charges, influenced the result. It did not indicate trouble for either the federal Government or the state Labour governments in South Australia and Western Australia, who face polls later this year and early next year.

However, Mr Andrew Peacock, leader of the federal Opposition, claimed that the swing to the Victorian Liberal Party, led by Mr Jeff Kennett, was a warning that Australians were tired of Labour's big spending and big taxing policies, and also did not want to see national security put at risk

by the weakening of the Anzus treaty.

Mr John Cain's state government, looking like having a majority of six in the Legislative Assembly, which has been expanded to 88. In the previous 81-seat assembly Labour had a majority of 17.

In the Upper House, the Legislative Council, Labour looks like having a majority of two, giving it control for the first time. By close of counting it had won 11 of the 22 seats being contested.

A number of seats in both houses were still in doubt. The final result may not be known for a week while postal and absentee votes are counted and preferences distributed.

For Mr Cain Saturday's victory was a milestone in that he became the first Labour Premier in Victoria to win office for a second term. It was also the first time that a Victorian government has been elected for a four-year term. Previous terms were three years.



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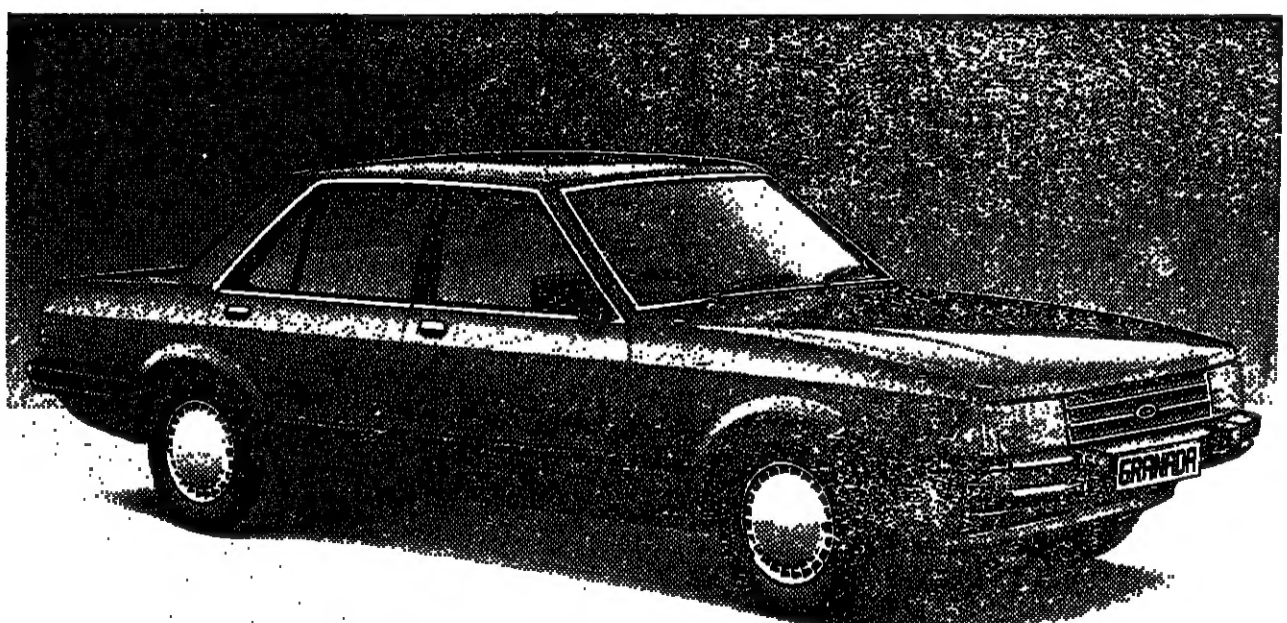
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## SPECTRUM

As the miners' strike ends with an expected mass return to work, Paul Valley reports on the women determined to fight on

# The strike that turned wives into warriors

Traditional roles previously held so strongly in pit villages have undergone a dramatic change in the past year



Lost faith

mother, Mrs Patricia Barnes, found perplexing, disturbing and yet somehow impressive.

"Before all this Annette was a nice inoffensive girl who wouldn't say boo to a goose. She was a hard working housewife, demure, shy even. She was houseproud, the sort who never wasted money on drinking and constant going out."

"She was a regular churchgoer up at the Pentecostal. She was involved in the Sunday school. She was even organizing a trip to go and see Billy Graham."

Since those days Annette Holroyd has stepped forward to be counted in a very different way. Her husband John is a faceworker at Blidworth Colliery, near Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, though after a year on strike the use of the present tense has a hollow ring. For the first fortnight of the strike, like many of the other miners in the village, he went to work. Then he sat down and had a long talk with his wife and decided to join the strike. At that moment she decided to join it too; with her next-door neighbour she formed one of the NUM's first Wives Support Groups. She was now a political activist and it was to change her life irrevocably.

"She has altered almost beyond recognition", her mother told me. "She is a stranger to me now. Sometimes I feel I do not know the person before me."

"Don't be daft, Mam", her daughter laughed. "It's just that I've discovered I'm not the stupid female I always thought I was, that's all." Her mother gave a tentative smile - half frightened, half admiring.

What has happened to Annette Holroyd is symptomatic of what has happened to hundreds if not thousands of women in Britain's pit villages over the past year. First-hand experience on the picket lines, in strike support committees, making speeches at public meetings and touring Britain and even the Continent on fund-raising missions,

have tempered a new self-confidence among miners' wives. Life may never now be the same in these communities which were until recently one of the bastions of traditional social values.

"It began with the work the women did in distributing food parcels and running meal centres and spread to organizing everything from fund-raising to picket lines", said Anita Gale, the Secretary of the Welsh Labour Party. "It was a significant development. Women who had always had a supporting role in other strikes now had a more positive, leading one."

"The women began to see themselves in a different light and realized they were capable of other things. They came out and proved themselves. The men realized it too. Many went from being real male chauvinists to finding their wives' achievement a source of pride."



Dorothy Nelson

Carrying on

Quite a lot of the women, for the first time, began to spend time away from home on speaking tours. They left the men to run the homes and mind the children. There has been quite a lot of role reversal. Now things will not go back to how they were before; the women will see to that."

Similar stories come from Kent, Nottingham and Yorkshire, too, where Mrs Dorothy Nelson of the Nottingham Miners' Wives Self Help Group maintains: "The women have been the backbone of this strike. Without them the men would have gone back long ago." Hilary Rose, Professor of Social Policy at Bradford University, has made a special study of the role of women in the dispute. She is in no doubt as to why the women have taken a much larger part in affairs than they did in the strikes of 1972 and 1974.

Partly it is because of the backcloth of a very powerful international women's movement which is much stronger than it was 10 years ago. Partly it is because since the last strike new legislation has been enacted which deducts £16 from a miners' family's social security benefits.



"Women have been the backbone of this strike". Many experienced their first picket line, like these miners' wives at Cresswell pit

"The women see this as an attack on their children", said Professor Rose. "They have a definite sense that they receive benefits in trust, for their children - you can see that from the way that they refuse to spend any of their family allowance on general household expenses but insist on saving it for shoes or a good coat. They feel that by deliberately cutting benefit on the assumed existence of strike pay which the Government knows full well does not exist, the Tories have attacked their children. They feel it deeply."

"The women's involvement has, in many villages, brought remarkable and irreversible changes which have left men and women looking at each other with new respect."

These changes are, in many cases, far-reaching: they affect the women's estimation of themselves, their relationship to their husbands, and their valuation of their place in the communities in which they live.

"Now we know we're not just housewives, sat at home or fastened

to the kitchen sink," said Annette Holroyd. "It's not women's lib or anything: it's just that now we know we can do things and we don't just take everything offered to us at face value."

"More women will go out to work now, more will join political parties, more will get involved in their own trade unions. More will have stronger relationships with their husbands now. It's not just all that they've been through together, it is that now they have more in common: the men have learned something about their kids and what their wives' lives are like and the women have learned something about what used to be the men's world."

Some of the development has been painful. One woman in Cresswell in Derbyshire tried unsuccessfully to persuade her husband not to return to work; when he came back from that first shift his wife was gone, her wedding ring was on the kitchen table.

In the social arena the new scope

for the women is less ambiguous. "We'll keep our women's section on after the strike. We're too well organized and too strong to stop now", a woman at Snowdown Miners' Welfare Club in Kent told me. In Nottingham, Dorothy Nelson's group have even worked out a post-strike plan of action: "We will carry on with fund-raising and food parcels but for pensioners and the unemployed", she said.

Annette Holroyd talked last week of forming a National Housewives Union. "Not for better conditions but to campaign for women's rights, for nursery facilities, against cuts, and to put pressure on the TUC."

"We may even see a lot more women councillors and MPs", said Heather Hoaksey, assistant regional organizer of the Labour Party in Yorkshire where she has set up a dozen women's sections in recent weeks in response to the large influx of women members.

Many of these women have seen for the first time how much politics affects their everyday lives. Last

month 34 of the women's groups had a meeting to discuss 'After the Strike' and the talk was of pressure groups, community projects, school governors, tenants' associations and campaigns to save local hospitals. They have learned the whole business of organizing and they don't want to waste it.

The question now is whether other people and organizations will respond to the women's new-found self-esteem, says Professor Rose. "Will education authorities develop second chance adult education schemes? Will local parties and trade unions recognize that the sterling qualities the women have demonstrated would make many of them good councillors? Will Betty Heathfield be offered a safe Labour seat?"

Traditional sexual values are deeply entrenched in conservative working class communities like these. Men who are happy to offer a woman their seat on a bus are unlikely to do the same when the seat is parliamentary. But as with

the Second World War, after which women who had proved themselves in a whole new range of activity were thanked and shown the way back to the kitchen, it may well be that the shift in attitudes will prove more important than the immediate material consequences.

Once again Annette Holroyd is the touchstone. For what has happened to this unassuming Nottinghamshire woman, who hitherto saw herself as a housewife, mother-of-three and admirer of Margaret Thatcher, is an index of just how the basic certainties of daily life in these mining communities have dissolved in the present dispute.

"People who do not live here cannot realize what it's like. It's not just a divided street, a divided Labour Party and the old friends who never speak. It's not just the physical hardship. It's losing faith in things you once took for granted." By which she means the impartiality of the police, magistrates, newspapers and even the church.

"The police will no longer be the friendly village bobby to me. I will always remember the evening when 600 of them surrounded my house - we counted them - to arrest one of the leaders of the Yorkshire flying pickets who was staying here. And even now I see the police are biased in the way they treat striking and working miners in this village."

"The courts are not what I had assumed. Until now I had never been in one, of course. When I did I heard a magistrate tell a man he was not allowed to speak in his own defence - it had to be done by his solicitor. I did not believe I would hear an accused man silenced in a British court."

"I have lost faith in the newspapers I once read. *The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror* are banned from this house now. They are banned from most homes in this village. They have told lies, half-truths and peddled propaganda."

"Even the church has let me down. The children of strikers are not allowed free school meals so we asked the church if we could use the church hall for a meal centre. The church said no. That is not my idea of Christianity."

To say that there are factors which she omits from her consideration, or that there might well be acceptable explanations of the incidents about which she makes her accusations, is to miss the point.

It may yet turn out that the strike which some politicians hoped would break the strength of Britain's most powerful trade union has, in reality, taken a dormant section of British society and created a new generation of adversaries for the future.

## Where Arthur doesn't box clever

Arthur Scargill is widely regarded, even by some of his opponents, as a highly effective communicator. He has the great orator's skill of being able to speak fluently to large crowds, unaided by notes or new-fangled gadgets like the microphones favoured by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. He knows how to put his points across in such a way that his audiences are never left in any doubt about when to applaud.

Yet the evidence from the past year is that Mr Scargill has not only remained an unpopular figure with the public at large, but has also had difficulties in winning the support of a substantial proportion of his own union's membership - which suggests that his persuasive skills may not be quite as powerful as they seem when he is roasting yet another audience to a standing ovation.

Like many masters of the traditional skills of oratory, Arthur Scargill is at his most effective when addressing a large crowd of supporters. But successful television communication involves the use of techniques which are different from the ones public speakers have been able to rely on for the past 2,000 years, and which cannot necessarily be transferred wholesale from auditorium to studio.

Because people tend to sit a comfortable conversational distance away from their television sets, some of the verbal and non-verbal techniques which are most effective for communicating with those on the back row of a large auditorium or outdoor meeting have a quite different impact when seen through a zoom lens. Carefully crafted phrases and elaborate gestures tend to come across on the small screen as unnecessarily exaggerated, overacted, or overdone.

Unlike Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, Arthur Scargill has so far shown little sign of adopting a less strident, conversational and televisually more appealing approach to public speaking. And until he does so, it is likely that those who know his speeches only from the excerpts they see on television will pay more attention to his abilities as a mob orator than to the actual contents of what he says.

Whereas the workings and impact of different oratorical techniques can be analysed fairly precisely by examining passages which prompt instant displays of audience approval (cheering, clapping, and so on), it is much more difficult to analyse how audiences respond to the way people perform in televised interviews.

For his interviews with the media, Arthur Scargill has learnt to adopt a much lower-key style of speaking than he uses when making a speech. His understanding of the constraints



WILLIS

associated with television communication is also evident in his ability to formulate statements which are both rhetorically very powerful, and at the same time brief enough to permit tapes to be edited without losing much of the gist of his message. For example, the following excerpt from a recent news bulletin is comprised entirely of contrastive and three-part elements, which are two of the oldest and most effective of all rhetorical devices:

Don't listen to a Tory minister who practices hypocrisy - listen to your own trade union.

We're defending jobs, pits and communities. The Coal Board and the Government's policy intends to butcher at least 70 pits and 70,000 jobs - our aim is to defend your jobs and your communities.

Although the construction and delivery may in this case have been technically impressive, the contents were a televisual liability. Coming as they did almost a year after the strike began, such statements have an awesomely familiar ring to them. That might not matter to an orator, who can get away with making the same old speech night after night to different audiences. But anyone who goes on television using the same words to make the same points in one interview after another is destined to become known as a bore. Television

viewers, like conversationalists, are notoriously intolerant of repeats.

If uninhibited repetition on the scale practiced by Mr Scargill is a dubious ploy, so too are some of the other techniques he uses when being interviewed.

For example, his capacity for not answering questions has become a matter for widespread comment, not just in pubs and media letters columns, but even in the jokes of school children. His most usual procedure is to repeat the final part of the interviewer's question in the first person as a prelude to

saying more or less whatever he likes about anything other than the point raised by the question.

Q: Do you accept that x is the case?

A: I accept that (something unrelated to x)

Q: Is it now your objective to do x?

A: Is it now my objective to do (something unrelated to x)?

It may well be, of course, that he is merely acting on the advice of media consultants who think this is an effective way to neutralize probing questions, while at the same time dictating how the valuable air time is to be used. But television audiences are perfectly capable of drawing their own conclusions.

Such damaging impressions are likely to be further enhanced by the way Mr Scargill tells interviewers off for being obstructive, biased, or uninformed, behaviour which is unlikely to be regarded favourably by those who feel that Peter Snow, Fred Emery, Brian Walden and the rest are merely asking questions that anyone might ask, and are therefore acting on behalf of the viewers.

Some people have suggested that Mr Scargill's behaviour on television is designed to appeal not to the public at large, but to his own members, presumably in the belief that what the mass audience regards as boringly repetitive, evasive and impolite will be seen by miners as consistently determined, skilful and tough.

But such a theory ignores the fact that, as competent conversationalists, many miners will no doubt interpret what they see and hear in much the same way as everyone else. It is also based on a cavalier disregard for the damaging impact such behaviour is likely to have on public opinion.

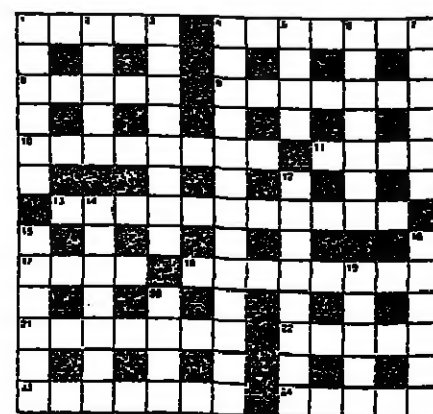
Max Atkinson

The author is a Research Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford.

### CONCISE CROSSWORD (No 585)

- ACROSS  
1 Hurry away (5)  
4 Cough mixture (7)  
8 Competitor (5)  
9 Regret (7)  
10 Porico (8)  
11 Verifiable truth (4)  
13 Dormant period (11)  
17 Ground plans (4)  
18 Leg neuralgia (8)  
21 Rice stock dish (7)  
22 Silly mistake (5)  
23 Takes revenge for (7)  
24 Third RC hour (15)

- DOWN  
1 Contend (6)  
2 Wanderer (5)  
3 Dodge work (8)  
4 De Gaulle symbol (8,5)  
5 Reputation (4)  
6 Cyclone (7)  
7 Perspiring (6)  
12 Direct (8)  
14 Stalemate (7)



- 15 Tiber region (6)  
16 Mahogany-like wood (6)  
19 Deduce (5)  
20 Male deer (4)

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## MONDAY PAGE

صباحنا من الامل

# Life after the UN, by Jeane Kirkpatrick

The tough-talking woman who offended Britain during the Falklands war tells Nicholas Ashford about her key role in promoting a more assertive US foreign policy



Steve Mendelson, Washington Post

Question: From a Western point of view, is the United Nations a better place now than it was when you took office four years ago?

Answer: Yes, I would say so in the sense that the dominance of United Nations agendas, debates, resolutions, by radical Third World states has been substantially diminished. One consequence is that the character of the debate and the resolutions is a good deal more constructive than it was, and much less abusive than it was. The dominance of the non-aligned movement and various Third World regional organizations by the most radical states reached its height at the end of the 1970s when Cuba became president of the non-aligned movement. It was during that period that the New World Information Order and the New World Economic Order were put forward. Both were profoundly anti-West, and the North-South dialogue was dominated by radical Third World states. Again, profoundly anti-West.

Now, that pattern has been largely eliminated. North-South dialogue is a good deal more realistic, and certainly it is less abusive.

Q: On what UN issues has the American point of view gained during the past four years?

A: I think there has been a genuine decline in the whole ritualized abuse process at the UN also, the process leading to the expulsion of Israel from UN bodies was very far advanced when we took office. We took the lead in trying to ensure that process did not succeed.

Q: You have sometimes complained about the lack of support the US has received from its European allies. Were

**6 We are less vulnerable to Soviet strength today than four years ago**

there times when you felt isolated?

A: Yes, of course. I don't have to tell you we were deeply disappointed about Grenada, and the response of a good many of our European friends at that occasion. We were most discouraged by their tendency to acquiesce in comparisons of Grenada and Afghanistan. I would only say to those friends that all they need do is look at Grenada and Afghanistan today to see the end of that story.

There are also some Central American questions, particularly involving Nicaragua, where we have been disappointed by our European friends' failure to be as sensitive as we would hope to potential and actual threats to US security in this region - which we think also constitute a threat to NATO.

Q: Last year in a speech in London you warned of a growing tendency in Europe to believe that there is no moral difference between the two superpowers - and you said that if it is no longer possible to make such a distinction then "the erosion of a distinctively Western, democratic civilization is already far advanced". Is such an erosion taking place?

A: I don't know. Sometimes I think so and sometimes I think not. I found the discussion in some of the European press and in some of the European parliaments about Grenada really shocking. And I have found some of the discussion of US policy in Central America deeply shocking.

I have found a tendency on the part of Western European friends to consider the Reagan

administration not as the manifestation of sober and legitimate conservative instinct and judgement, but, as some sort of nativist, extremist movement, which we are not. That's disturbing. I think this deterioration of relations, which was fed by the peace movements in Europe which treated us as warmongers, reached its peak at the time of the deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. It now seems to have diminished substantially.

Q: When you announced you were leaving the administration you said this was partly so that you could "speak out clearly" on foreign policy issues. Were there criticisms you felt unable to make in public because you were part of the administration?

A: Any intellectual is very likely in the course of four years to find him or herself differing on some issues. But generally speaking I have felt very good about Reagan administration foreign policy. I think the foreign policy has been successful. As a member of the Reagan team I have been a strong supporter of that policy.

Q: What are your broad conclusions about US foreign policy under the Reagan administration?

A: Well, first of all I think the Alliance is stronger. And one of the reasons it's stronger is that the terrible strains caused by the unilateral build-up of Soviet SS-20 missiles have been relieved by NATO's deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles. I think that's very important. I also think the conventional military strength of the Alliance is greater. We are less vulnerable to Soviet strength today than four years ago. I think that Soviet expansionism has essentially been stopped.

Soviet expansionism was proceeding very rapidly from the fall of Saigon in 1975 until the election of Reagan in 1980. There was a rapid expansion of Soviet hegemony in Africa, in Central America, in the Caribbean, in South-East Asia, in the Middle East and in South America. But that's been re-

versed and I think that's terribly important. I think that the resistance movements against Communist governments have multiplied and have gotten stronger in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Cambodia and Afghanistan. I think that's positive too, as it represents hope for masses of people for self-determination, national independence and freedom.

I think the whole anti-statist trend in economic affairs worldwide is very positive and I believe the American economic success has played a major role in that.

I believe we have become more successful in co-operating to contain regional conflicts and develop some new and flexible forms of co-operation - in the Gulf, Suez, Chad, Sudan and Central America. I think all these are very positive.

I would also note that the US and the Soviet Union are once again holding arms control negotiations. Relations between the US and the Soviets are more stable, less precarious and safer than they were four years ago.

Q: Do you have any regrets that you're not going to remain part of Reagan's "winning team"?

A: Oh, sure I have some regrets. I thought a lot about it before I resigned. I have found

Denied the job she has long coveted - the President's National Security Adviser - Kirkpatrick has decided to leave her post and the Reagan administration at the end of March and return to academic life. She is to be succeeded by General Vernon Walters.

However, although Kirkpatrick denies she has political ambitions, her voice will continue to be heard on matters of foreign policy. She says she intends to "speak out clearly" on behalf of such foreign policy objectives as restoring and preserving United States strength, supporting democracy and independence in Latin America and defending America's friends, principles and interests in the Middle East.

The only Democrat in the Reagan cabinet (and for a while the only woman), Kirkpatrick, aged 58, was Professor of Political Science at Georgetown University and Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think-tank, before joining the Reagan administration.

She came to Reagan's attention after writing an article for *Commentary* magazine, entitled "Dictatorships and

Double Standards", in which she argued that right-wing dictatorships were more amenable to liberalization and democratization than totalitarian regimes of the left.

Self-described as a "Hubert Humphrey-Scoop Jackson Democrat", she and a group of conservative Democrats formed the "Coalition for a Democratic Majority" in 1972 to combat the party's swing to the left under George McGovern.

However the chasm between herself and the Democratic Party has grown progressively wider since then. Last year she was the star attraction at the Republican National Convention in Dallas with a speech in which she roundly denounced the foreign policies of the Carter-Mondale administration. She is expected to join the Republican Party soon, and some observers expect to see her name on the Republican Presidential ticket for 1988.

Married with three children, Kirkpatrick divides her time between her home in Washington and her ambassadorial residence on the 42nd floor of the Waldorf Towers in New York. It was there, in a farewell interview, that she reviewed the achievements of the Reagan administration's foreign policy.

care of themselves. I do not believe that US military intervention in Nicaragua or Central America is either necessary or desirable.

Q: Why did you oppose United States support for Britain during the Falklands War?

A: I said at the time I believed both Britain and Argentina had a stake in the Falklands but that in many ways the United States had the largest stake of all. I ardently hoped for the successful mediation of that conflict before there was actual violence. That was not to be. Once the American attempt at mediation failed I believed our best policy was to remain neutral. Britain did not need our public support because under the NATO treaty she would get all the intelligence and equipment she needed. I believed that public United States support for Britain would help Britain but little and damage the United States substantially in our relations with Latin America. There are anti-Yankee sentiments that smoulder in Latin America, and Cuba and Nicaragua work very hard to ignite them.

The largest single component in this anti-Yankee sentiment is the charge that the US does not care enough about Latin America - that we only care

about our European friends. I think the hostility towards us has largely disappeared. But there were many countries, including Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia which said they were angrier with the US than with Britain. And the reason was because they felt we

position was that we should remain publicly neutral, which was a very different, much warmer position than that which Britain assume towards us. But I didn't feel bitter.

Q: Given the beating the Democratic Party has suffered during the past two presidential elections, do you think it will change in such a way that you can become an active member again?

A: I wish I felt so. I worked very hard within the Democratic Party from 1968 onwards to keep it in what I call the mainstream tradition. I believe that since 1968 the party has really veered dramatically away from mainstream American views and values. I think the party leadership, what I call the "San Francisco Democrats", is dominated by a kind of left-wing elite. I regret that very much.

Q: Are you going to change parties?

A: For the last five years I have obviously been associating

about our European friends. I think the hostility towards us has largely disappeared. But there were many countries, including Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia which said they were angrier with the US than with Britain. And the reason was because they felt we

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ought to care more about Latin America than we do.

Q: Did you feel betrayed when Britain, having received US support during the Falklands campaign, opposed your intervention in Grenada?

A: Yes, Britain. I should point out, not only failed to support our operation in Grenada, she condemned it. I never suggested we should condemn Britain's policy in the Falklands. My most extreme

position was that we should remain publicly neutral, which was a very different, much warmer position than that which Britain assume towards us. But I didn't feel bitter.

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a great deal more closely with the Reagan Party. If we can talk about a Roosevelt coalition, then it also makes sense to talk about a Reagan coalition. It is the coalition with which I have not only felt comfortable but with which I have worked in support of my views and values.

Q: Do you have any political ambitions?

A: No. None at all.

Q: What are you most looking forward to about returning to private life?

A: Luis. Not having to commute back and forth between Washington and New York so often. It's a very unpleasant way to live. I'm looking forward to living in one place rather than two. I am looking forward to freedom from various kinds of bureaucratic complexities and travails. I'm looking forward to time to read and write and think deeply. I'm looking forward to a bit more leisure, a bit more time for music and books, and friends.

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it an enormously interesting, fascinating experience and I am deeply committed to the president's Agenda. I feel a real sense of satisfaction that the American presence is stronger in the UN and that the UN itself is stronger and more constructive. But I have felt that four years at the UN was a long time.

You know I am a scholar and professor and a writer by profession and by proclivity - and I have wanted very much to return to private life. I have a husband whom I have de-

ferred to tell you we were deeply disappointed about Grenada, and the response of a good many of our European friends at that occasion. We were most discouraged by their tendency to acquiesce in comparisons of Grenada and Afghanistan. I would only say to those friends that all they need do is look at Grenada and Afghanistan today to see the end of that story.

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Reluctant ally: Jeane Kirkpatrick joins Britain in vetoing an Argentine ceasefire resolution at the UN in June, 1982

## Why women are living dangerously

The other week, Beatrix Campbell, the writer, gave a lunchtime lecture at St James's Church, Piccadilly, entitled "The Sexual Politics of Living in the City".

The tale she told was a grim one, portraying women as the new urban poor, no longer entitled to gain the degree of financial independence that would buy them both safety and security. Such are the signs of the times that Ms Campbell was able to provide a topical example of what she meant: the short life and pathetic death of Helen Smith who died, apparently of hypothermia brought on by monoxide poisoning, in a badly-maintained flat in Dod-dington Grove in Walworth, where she had lived, on supplementary benefit, with her children.

Reflecting on this talk, it struck me that most city women, unlike poor Helen Smith, are not conscious of feeling permanently endangered. We merely feel permanently irritated. It is the feel permanently irritated, rather than the rare dramatic



PENNY PERRICK

happening, that brings us up against sexual politics with an unpleasant bump.

Take, for instance, our streets. Badly lit, full of blind corners, they are designed for an era when every woman was accompanied by a male companion, walking tenderly on the kerbside to shield her from the mud flung by the wheels of carriages and ready to draw his sword against marauders. One

would not wish to see existing parts of the city demolished to keep abreast of changed circumstances. What annoys is that when new walkways are built they follow the same outdated pattern, usually with a few pitch dark alleyways and scary underpasses thrown in.

In nearly every major city, in the age group 18-34, women outnumber men.

Yet, urban life - pubs, restaurants, housing - is geared to men or, at most, the man-accessorized woman. Even Marks & Spencer, in several of its stores, displays its men's clothing conveniently on the ground floor, although its clientele must be largely female. Maybe it feels that women will meekly climb the stairs to find a pair of tights whereas men will go around with holes in their socks unless a new pair is in immediate reach.

Urban women long to be free spirits, to have a share in the bright city buzz. It is saddening that current sexual politics offers them only the dire choice of living dangerously, frustratingly or not at all.

I am second to none, except perhaps the leader of the Social Democrats. In my privacy, puritanical disapproval of cigarette smoking.

Nevertheless, I should like Melvin Belli, the San Francisco lawyer, to lose his case against the tobacco company, R. J. Reynolds, whom he is accusing of causing the death of a heavy-smoking cancer victim.

If Mr Belli wins, it will become harder for any of us to learn how to take responsibility for ourselves, rather than follow the more alluring route of believing that the bad things that befall us are usually someone else's fault.

A victory for Mr Belli would pave the way for someone like me to sue the villain who produces Fry's Chocolate Cream for everything he's got, on the grounds that my saddle-bag thighs are the direct result of over-consumption of his irresistible product. I would never do it, of course. Imagine being known in a court of law as a woman without enough will-power to nibble a carrot rather than a chocolate bar.



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## THE TIMES DIARY

### Well, did Neil deal?

Imagine it. Neil Kinnock as Prime Minister. Arthur Scargill ruling the roost as chairman of the Coal Board. Unthinkable? Perhaps not. Deep in an article in this week's *Listener*, BBC labour correspondent Nicholas Jones refers with tantalising brevity to a "conversation with Mr Scargill, early on in the strike, when he described how Mr Kinnock had promised him the year before that if the Labour party won the next election, then he would offer Mr Scargill the chairmanship of the Coal Board." Jones stands by the story, which he says Scargill told him in all seriousness in June 26 last year during the railwaymen's conference in Llandudno. He also says it was confirmed by a union leader in whose presence the offer was made at a union conference in the late summer of 1983. At that stage, of course, Kinnock was canvassing votes for the Labour leadership elections that autumn. He duly got the NUM vote - and he could also have been seeking a way to "neutralize" a potential future antagonist. Kinnock, however, says he can remember making no such offer. All he can remember is making some joke to that effect at a meeting in Kent during the 1983 general election campaign.

### Back to work

The falling out of Central and LWT over who should make the ITV special on the miners' strike on Friday night may have cost the country dear. Towards the end of Central's half of the programme, Michael Eaton of the NCB and Arthur Scargill seemed to be nearing an agreement. At the crucial moment, however, the commercials intervened and were followed by Brian Walden introducing LWT's offering. Why did LWT not allow Central's Jonathan Dimbleby an extra few minutes with Scargill and Eaton? Because, unbeknown to anybody else, LWT had pre-recorded its hour and could not cut it short. Dimbleby, enraged, has persuaded Scargill and Eaton to "continue where we left off" on TV-am today.

### Choice

Ken Stewart, hard-left MEP for Merseyside West since June and a Liverpool councillor for 17 years, will not be among those councillors rendering themselves liable to possible personal surcharge, bankruptcy and suspension from public office by refusing to pass a lawful budget on Thursday. Last week he resigned from the council. Officially, his two jobs were incompatible. Unofficially, I imagine, he found the prospect of losing an MEP's salary and perks too awful to contemplate.

### Unwarranted

These are exciting times at Channel 4, enjoying its brush with the Official Secrets Act over the banned documentary on MI5 phone tapping. Assistant controller Liz Forgan was roused at 7.30 am the other day by police hammering on the door of her Kensington home and shouting "We're from the Home Office." Miss Forgan's worst fears proved unfounded, however. They were merely looking for an immigrant Greek builder who had once worked at the house and gave it as his address.

### Rag tirade

"I've been speaking for an hour and I don't see why I should be giving these interviews to small, unimportant newspapers." Thus began David Owen's pre-arranged chat with a student newspaper after he had addressed the Bristol University Union last week. "I was flabbergasted," says the paper's editor, Susanna Voyle. "He had just spent ten minutes of his speech complaining about poor media coverage of the SDP."

BARRY FANTONI



### Victim No 1

As I forecast last week, the board of Hammersmith's Riverside Studios has sacked its artistic director, David Gothard. He is convinced his departure was plotted by the GLC, now the arts centre's main paymasters, who regarded him as "elitist". It was not enough, apparently, that Gothard managed to fill the theatre for a radical production by Dario Fo and *The Steve Biko Inquest*. "The GLC distrust culture. They would have preferred me to put on some semi-annual community group's propaganda about South Africa," he says. It's a great start to the GLC's Arts in Danger campaign, launched this weekend.

PHS

# Give coal the glow of success

by Michael Fallon

To what future do the striking miners return? To the same old industry, perennially supported by exchequer grant? Ministers now have the chance that their predecessors never had to do some radical thinking about the future of coal.

Begin with the Board. Charged 40 years ago with "securing the efficient development of the coal-mining industry", it is now morally as well as technically insolvent. Year after year pits have been closed, communities destroyed. Why should hard-working, skilled miners be condemned to an eternally uncertain future within an unsuccessful, loss-making industry?

The Board's bureaucratic management needs shaking by the roots. Some of its aging *corps de ballet* fell victim to the strike; others have been too long in an industry that has failed to adapt. All seem deeply corroded with corporatism: "in practice the post of industrial relations director is virtually ours to nominate", writes Joe Gormley, former NUM leader. Ian MacGregor might take one leaf out of Scargill's book by moving a streamlined HQ into one of the mining heartlands.

A more flexible approach to financing is required. Mining elsewhere is profitable. The newer Midland pits will demand substantial investment. Private capital should be sought to help fund such large-

scale development, a subterranean version of British Steel's "phoenix" schemes. At the other end of the scale, small is beautiful - but only when free. Small mines should be encouraged like any other small business, not restricted by an employment ceiling. Open-cast operations should likewise be released from quantity controls.

Indeed, the open-cast executive ought really to be an entirely separate body, charged with developing licensed private open-cast mining. Contracted-out operations earned the Board a profit of £211m in the year ended March 1984. The current 15 million-tonne output could be almost doubled, making open-cast operations an attractive target for eventual privatization.

For the older pits the arithmetic must be revised. The strike has already outdated the 1983 Monopolies Commission assessment of viability. But after the obvious closures the workforce might reasonably be offered the freedom to make a go of the 20 or 30 longer-life pits that are "uneconomic" at the margin.

In the north-east the success of Tyne Ship Repair and Redhears shows what can be done when men work for themselves, each year, once "uneconomic", is now profitable. Management buy-outs and worker-owned consortia do wonders for productivity and working practices.

The core of the industry, however, will

have to be supported publicly in the medium term. But from now on its borrowing and deficit grants must be much more closely related to performance, productivity and better management of labour and resources. The Board can no longer be excused of its duty to bring supply and demand for coal back into balance.

The sharpest stimulus here would be to end the monopolistic buying arrangement between the NCB and the Central Electricity Generating Board. The CEBG itself estimates that freedom to import coal "would have a very significant effect on the price of electricity - a 10 to 15 per cent reduction - since coal represents around 45 per cent of our costs".

The long-term benefits to the economy of 15 per cent cheaper electricity year after year would be huge; one by-product would be a strong incentive for the Coal Board to bring its costs into line with world markets.

Selling off the pits is one thing. Putting the industry on to a sound financial basis with a stake for those who work in it is another. But in the end it cannot be done without asking why coal extraction is the only unprofitable UK energy industry. Whatever they think of privatization as a concept, energy ministers can no longer leave the movement of mining into the market sector off the political agenda.

The author is Conservative MP for Darlington.

## Stewart Tendler on the question marks over the new control measures

# Drug abuse: still waiting for the right prescription



Clarke waiting for the Commons' verdict

That view has changed but the central drug squad at Scotland Yard still has only 30 men to combat trafficking. Extra men were seconded to the squad last year - as heralded by Clarke - but they have now returned to their duties on organized crime, with the proviso that any case involving drugs takes priority.

Both the Yard and the police service in general are, however, looking at ways of bringing more detectives into drug investigations. There is speculation about regional drug squads and small local teams in London, but it was not until last November that every force in Britain finally had a drug squad. Clarke took credit for this on behalf of the Government, but why did this achievement take so long? The Misuse of Drugs Act became operational in 1973.

The Government has said that up to 1,200 detectives and Customs investigators can now deal with drug offences. But many of the policemen are not working full-time on drugs, and the squad of 212 Customs officers have a large commitment to control of cannabis as well as heroin and cocaine.

Officers in the drugs war have found that the scene is changing rapidly and nastily. More and more murders are linked to drug deals. Professional criminals are investing the fruits of such crimes as armed robbery in highly profitable traffick-

ing. Half the work of the regional crime squads is now said to involve drugs.

Drugs are also suspected of being behind a growing proportion of street crime. One rough estimate examined by London researchers two years ago suggested that an addict might need up to £6,000 a year for his drugs, and that could mean that addicts steal goods worth £1,000 million. That figure can be questioned. But last year a team of detectives in south London demonstrated the links between drugs and other crime: of 70 people arrested in a three-month period for drug-dealing, 90 per cent had records for robbery or burglary.

Despite the seizure of drugs in record quantities, the street price of heroin and cocaine has remained remarkably stable, which means that the smugglers and traffickers are still operating effectively. The Government hopes that two measures will deter them. One will be an increase in the maximum penalties from 14 years imprisonment to life. The second will be the power to sequester assets.

Longer sentences have not stopped armed robbers, but they have influenced the informer system, helping to produce "super-grasses". However, longer sentences may encourage traffickers to move bigger loads, reasoning that the penalty for a small one would be almost as severe.

Government money is not going to be given to established groups, yet they have the necessary experience. As a result, a number of key London voluntary organizations are in dire straits, hoping for aid from local authorities that could be raised-capped.

Three years from now the Government may be left with the bones of its policy picked clean by budgetary controls. The victims may not just be the voluntary groups but also the clinics. A number are in inner-city areas where there are severe constraints on cash. More nurses or consultants for addict clinics may not be high on the agendas of health authorities.

One solution may be to shift more of the responsibility for addicts back on to GPs. However, the idea of allowing limited heroin prescription to keep older addicts stabilized has been brushed within Whitehall and rejected.

The MPs on the select committees may feel that while no dramatic new measures are possible short of the draconian, the Government has yet to get the balance right with its current effort.

A working treatment system could keep customers away from the streets. A reduction in that market would save on policing costs and become in its way another form of the money-saving crime prevention philosophy currently advocated in policing circles.

Anne Sofer

# London's lessons from the past

"In them days, of course it was the old LCC." How often this has been said to me on the doorstep. The speaker might be perhaps a retired school cook coming suspiciously to the door of her council flat to glare at yet another pestering canvasser but then softening, leaning against the door-jamb to reminisce.

Pointing to disgust at the graffiti and the discarded crisp-bags, she recalls a better-ordered municipal ethos. The golden dust of memory settles on that now demolished rabbit-warren of "turnings" where everybody knew everybody, and the long summer evenings when the boys played cricket in the street without fear of motorists or heroin pushers.

Until last year, such a person would regard the substitution of the GLC for the old London County Council in much the same light as she might regard the substitution of the education welfare officer for the old school attendance officer, who came knocking at your door and calling "Mr Smith, Jimmy hasn't come to school this morning" so that all the turning could hear.

The new version has a grander sounding title, and a wider remit, but less clout when you finally get down to it. The LCC, though it covered a smaller area than the GLC (the area now covered by the ILEA) reigned supreme from 1889 to 1964, in a way the GLC, in its much shorter life, has never been able to match: it had control of every major local government service.

Until Mrs Thatcher decided to abolish it, nobody thought much of the GLC. This fact, now often forgotten, is elaborated in a new book, *Beyond Our Ken*, by Andrew Forrester, Stewart Lansley and Robin Pauley. Subtitled "A Guide to the Battle for London", it explains the historical background, the present political cross-currents and the possible scenarios for the immediate future in a way that should make it essential reading for the entire House of Lords, on whose deliberations the issue will shortly depend.

I hope somebody is sending them all a copy, particularly those hereditary peers who hardly ever attend but are now being assiduously seduced from their castles and manors by the Tory whips. It might at least persuade them to stay out of the "ghastly mess", as Edward Heath has called it.

A story is going around that when Mrs Thatcher read through the list of suggestions for the 1983 manifesto and came to "Review of the GLC and the Met Counties", she deleted it with her own hand. "Review" and "Met" were "Abolition". If this is true, and if the piece of paper survives in somebody's possession, I suggest that that

somebody should look after it very carefully (unless he/she feels like sending it to me in a brown envelope). It is a valuable historical document, recording for posterity an impulsive moment which may in future be judged to have fatally undermined the second Thatcher administration.

For, if she had left the "Review" alone, no harm, indeed much good, would have resulted. The GLC, with its odd boundaries and even odder assortment of half powers, badly needed looking at. By the early 1980s a number of alternative structures were already being discussed by the pundits: a larger regional authority, a smaller resurrected LCC, or a new GLC with stronger powers. All these ideas attracted support across party lines.

But a review, of course, represents just the dilly-dallying, cautious procrastination that Mrs Thatcher cannot abide. So out it went, and with it any hope of a smooth transition to a more rational system.

What *Beyond Our Ken* points out is that abolition cannot possibly be the end of the story. "Whatever happens the debate will go on and the pressure for a London-wide elected body is likely to be irresistible, either almost instantly when their Lordships consider the Abolition Bill, or later when its effects are found to be not what anybody, the present Government included, had in mind."

If there is not a review, or the promise of a review, I can see clearly what will happen. Many of the causes which the GLC supports and which will be left stranded after abolition - housing, the single homeless, training schemes for disadvantaged groups, ethnic minority organizations - are concentrated in the inner areas, so too are Hampstead Heath, the South Bank arts complex and many of the other institutions whose disposal is causing the Government such embarrassment. After abolition there will still be an elected authority for Inner London - the Inner London Education Authority, which Mrs Thatcher has always hated the most. A simple bill could, at some future date, without fuss, complication or uproar, hand all these functions over to the conveniently available, patiently waiting heir to the old LCC.

No political party advocates such a solution. But in each there is still a "Bring Back the LCC" faction which meets occasionally to toast "them days" with a wistful sigh. I belong to one such group, and *Beyond Our Ken* has cheered me up no end. Perhaps all we have to do is wait and it will fall in our laps.

The author is SDP member of the GLC ILEA for St Pancras North.

## moreover... Miles Kingston

# The flavour of Blair the fair

I have just returned from a city in crisis. No, not Beirut, New York, Kabul or any of those places that would dearly love to be out of the headlines. This was a place that would love to be in the headlines. Blairgowrie, in Perthshire. Well, maybe not a city in crisis, but at least a town in turmoil.

I had arrived all unsuspectingly to stay a few days with my cousin Laurence, who is a farmer. He once defined farming to me as listening to what the Government has to say on the subject and then doing the exact opposite, in other words, he has a gift for the epigrammatic which I envy. Now he is also moving into tourism by converting the stables in the old castle grounds into two holiday homes and throwing them open to the paying public.

"If I can convince enough of them that Bonnie Prince Charles parked here on his motoring tour of Scotland, I am home and dry," says Laurence. "Meanwhile, would you like to come to the annual shindig of the Blairgowrie Tourist Association? It's tonight, and I need moral support."

Dear reader, have you ever been to the annual chambake of the Blairgowrie Tourist Association? Are you perhaps not quite sure where Blairgowrie is? Then it is about people like you that the association is worried. Oh, they looked calm enough as they gathered at the chic Altamont Hotel and nibbled little delicacies. They were even confident enough, these 100 people in their evening best, to hold a raffie.

"I don't know why it is," says Laurence, "but as soon as we have more than 15 Perthshire people gathered in a room, we have a raffie, especially if someone else has brought the prizes. Anyone who bought and carried round a book of cloakroom tickets with him could make a fortune."

But drop down, it was a town in turmoil, a place with an identity crisis. For they have organized a competition to think of a snappy slogan for Blairgowrie, a rallying cry which will make Blairgowrie well-known throughout the length and breadth of Torquay, in well-known to be so sunny and Skelligs to be so bracing and Edinburgh to be the Athens of the North, so the theory goes, then Blairgowrie could be... well, what?

"Athens of the North?" broods Laurence. "Don't see it. All that Edinburgh has in common with Athens is a pile of incomplete buildings. And, I suppose, stuffed vine leaves, which are a sort of open-cast haggis."

The great trouble with Blairgowrie is that it is a tourist centre. As you know, dear reader, a tourist centre is a place which has nothing spectacular of its own but is within easy

reach of other more sensational places - Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth, Glen Shee. Some and cousin Laurence's stables. But one cannot devise a slogan which says: "Come to Blairgowrie and then go somewhere better!"

And in any case, Blair, as everyone here calls it, does have unique qualities. They have a pub called the Pig, which presents the best jazz outside London. They have a bagpipe and kilts maker from Australia, who can be seen slaving over a half-built set of pipes while talking in an accent which oscillates violently between Sydney and Perth without stopping anywhere between. They also used to have the only aphrodisiac factory in Scotland.

"True," says Laurence. "When the smithy closed down two years ago, it was bought by a bloke who stockpiled it with stag's antlers. These were ground down and sent to China, where they are prized as aphrodisiacs. He no longer stocks them. I imagine they have had a tremendous population explosion in China."

The entries for the Blairgowrie slogan contest have so far been less sensational than "Come to Blair and have a Chinese heir." They include the somewhat pedantic "Blairgowrie, a Little America", over-optimistic "Let down your hair and come to Blair", the over-poetic "Blair - Garden of the North" and the wildly frivolous "Blairgowrie - Gateway to Pitlochry."

"Actually," says Laurence, "the whole trouble is that only the locals know that the place is really called Blair. If we did get a good slogan for Blair, all the outsiders would react by going to Blair Atholl or somewhere equally ridiculous."

And all of the time the locals have ignored the really sensational fact about Blairgowrie, which is that about 90 per cent of the raspberries grown in Britain are grown here. In fact, the secretary of the Blairgowrie Tourist Association, Sheila Wiltuska, tells me terribly confidentially that there has been a rather frivolous suggestion that Blairgowrie should copy New York, the Big Apple, and call itself the Big Raspberry.

I like it. Come to the Big Raspberry? Why don'tcha come to the Big Raspberry? Beige down to the Big Raspberry? Perth. Gateway to the Big Raspberry? What do you think, Laurence?

"Not bad," says Laurence, "except that it doesn't mention that we've got the best Indian restaurant here this side of Hyderabad. Well, maybe. How about 'Come to Blairgowrie for a damn good curry'?"

The debate continues.

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# Why famine relief faces a standstill

Khartoum Sudan is running a desperate race against time to escape a catastrophe in which millions of people could die and millions more left desolate and homeless.

Transport, fuel and spare parts are urgently needed, but Sudan has no foreign exchange to buy them. The country is virtually bankrupt after four years of drought. Last year many regions had no rain at all, and the mighty Nile itself, source of life to a million square miles, is at its lowest in living memory.

Still less can Sudan afford the everyday necessities which are becoming more and more scarce for its own people and are almost unobtainable for the external refugees, who are pouring in at 3,000 a day and now total 1.5 million. A fortnight ago bread, one of the basic foods whose price is controlled, disappeared for two days from Khartoum, the capital.

In this huge country, the biggest in Africa, motor vehicles are almost the only means of transport, but diesel fuel and particularly petrol are sometimes unobtainable. In Khartoum it is common for drivers to queue for two days to obtain their weekly allocation of four gallons of petrol. The lines stretch four deep in the hot sun, winding round corners and down avenues until they vanish in the dust blowing off the desert.

All these problems must be solved

in the next few weeks. By a bitter irony the timetable is set not just by the famine but by the seasonal rains for which everyone is praying.

In the south-west they may arrive as early as April. In the south-east, pathetic resting place for most of the refugees, they are expected later.

The refugees, Sudan's own starving population, and the local and international authorities are dazed both ways. If the rains fall again the relief agencies are in danger of being overwhelmed by the weight of suffering humanity. If the rains do come, hundreds of thousands of refugees from north of Kassala to south of Ed Damazin, in the eastern province, will be cut off from assistance by flooding wadis.

It is therefore compellingly urgent that the transport, supplies and organization be in place before the end of this month to ensure that refugees can be moved to safer locations and that stockpiles of food are adequate to see the refugees through until November, when the harvest is due.

The huge scale of the need and of the impending tragedy are outlined by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the body co-ordinating refugee relief, and the chief provider of funds along with the United States. Nicholas Morris, the commission's local representative, estimates that some 600,000

new refugees may arrive in the eastern province alone from Ethiopia's Tigray province in the first six months of this year.

The unspoken fear of the government and the agencies is that the more facilities they provide, the more starving, diseased and destitute refugees they will attract. Recently more than 1,000 Tigrayans escaped to Sudan from the camps grounds. Across the border, to which they had been forcibly transferred by the Ethiopian authorities, relief agency officials say they told tales of starving and terror in the camps.

Mick Winer, the Oxfam permanent representative, believes that 250,000 of the refugees are in immediate danger of death from malnutrition and diseases such as dysentery, measles and malaria. The UN commission is asking for 33,000 tonnes of food just to keep pace with needs in the eastern province up to the end of May.

The commission's estimates are based on a modest daily ration for each refugee of just 1,900 calories: 400 grams of cereals, 60 grams of pulses, 30 grams of cooking oil and 10 grams of sugar.

The nature of the crisis is grimly visible at Wad Kowli, near Kassala in the east. Here between 75,000 and 100,000 Tigrayan refugees lie in listless groups on a bare hillside where little except the wind moves,

sweeping before it the dust that envelops the quick and the dead. Every day 120 die.

A senior aid official with long experience of Sudan says: "Wad Kowli must be moved to avert a world-class disaster." The water pools in the Athara river, a tributary of the Blue Nile, will last another three weeks. But when the rains come the Athara will be an uncrossable torrent.

Only three weeks ago, under pressure from the Americans, the Sudan government consented to move the Wad Kowli refugees 100 miles across rugged, parched terrain to a new site at Khassim-al-Qirba. Water is available there, but the site is otherwise ill-prepared.

The immediate difficulty is transport. How are all these people, many of whom are extremely weak, to be moved? One source warns: "You're going to kill 35,000 maybe 50,000 people." The United States is making strenuous efforts to supply food, equipment and fuel, but the 200 trucks needed are still not on their way.

And aside from the refugees, Sudan's own people need 1.2 million tonnes of food, but officials do not know how it will arrive. The commissioner of refugees says: "If the rains don't come, the whole world will have to help us."

Michael Prest





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## THE FACE OF DEFEAT

The pit strike which will end tomorrow has repeatedly been declared by the courts to be unofficial. It thus has no legal validity since those declarations were not challenged by the NUM leadership. They never allowed a vote to be taken before the strike because Mr Scargill and his lieutenants did not think that they would win the required 55% majority. Cynically therefore they changed the rules to reduce the 55% requirement to 50% for any later vote, and encouraged the semblance of a national strike by default. The militant areas came out first to establish some rolling momentum to put pressure on other areas to follow them out. It was an unconstitutional strike and the leadership knew it. One needs go no further for a witness than Mr Mick McGahey, who speaks for the other senior Communists who have supported the Scargill leadership in defiance of the union rule book: "we will not be constitutionalized out of a strike", he said. To this day Mr Scargill and his lieutenants in the NUM leadership have maintained their disregard for this absence of authority and constitutionality.

It is important to remember the origins of the strike and its unlawfulness in terms of the NUM's own rules when considering yesterday's events at the special delegate conference and likely future developments within the NUM. Because at its heart this strike is about a divided union and the struggle by working miners to rescue their union from the Communists and ultra-leftists who have hijacked its leadership and pursued policies which everybody can now see have merely bankrupted the union and have certainly bankrupted a large number of its long-suffering members.

In the face of defeat those divisions are now surfacing within the union and they will multiply. It is never pleasant to look on the face of defeat but it was evident yesterday at Congress House. As usual, if victory has a thousand fathers, defeat is an orphan. Nobody yesterday in the NUM leadership was prepared to accept any responsibility for the catastrophe which is now enveloping the union. Indeed the NEC and the delegates came to discuss whether or not to end the strike as though they still had some control over that strike. They were thus behaving like rotten borough men before the age of parliamentary reform. They were discussing a strike which has already been repudiated by more than half their members, yet listening to their statements and their internal arguments it would have been hard to believe they were discussing only the behaviour of a minority within their union, whom they represented, and deluding themselves that they still maintained some control over a strike which had no legal authority. All this occurred under the auspices of a union leadership whose unfitness to

continue in office and look after the affairs of the union has resulted already in the removal of Messrs Scargill, McGahey and Heathfield from their position as trustees of union funds.

We have heard much about how the Government and the Coal Board have contributed to this defeat. No doubt from Mr Scargill we will hear more about the treachery in the trade union movement and the failure of the Labour leadership to support the miners. Perhaps he was taken in by the triumphalism of the hard left at the Labour Conference and TUC Congress when it certainly appeared that those organizations were about to suffer a similar fate to the NUM and be hijacked by a small group of official and unofficial communists.

What Mr Scargill and his friends cannot admit, however, is that their defeat is more properly attributed to the efforts of their own members within the NUM. It has been the struggle of the working miners more than anything else which has undermined the position of the NUM's leadership.

First of all, obviously, the uninterrupted production of coal from Nottingham has reduced the cost of oil substitutes. But that alone would not have meant much difference to the outcome of the strike. It was the fact that never fewer than 40,000 miners continued working which reminded the whole world that the union was divided because its leadership had ignored the rules. However much Mr Scargill and his friends tried to paper over the absence of a ballot, and to ignore the legal rulings that picketing was thus unlawful and that any ensuing disciplinary action against working miners would be equally unlawful, the fact of the working miners remained. It explained why Mr Scargill received such denigratory support from other trade unions, certainly once his outrageous methods of picketing, bullying and intimidation were added to the ballot-less state of his campaign.

Secondly, the working miners, once they were armed with their legal rights, were able to move against Mr Scargill's control of union funds. Those rights, moreover, were common law rights time-worn in their authority and not derived from recent trade union legislation. They enabled the working miners to take Mr Scargill to court for using and abusing union funds in support of a strike for which he had no lawful authority. He was thus forced back on even less respectable means of support, in which the Libyan connection was merely one of a number which included, according to ministerial calculations at least four million pounds in cash filtered out from Soviet sources through Czechoslovak intermediaries.

The struggle for control of the NUM will not end simply because all members - many of them short of a whole year's pay - return to work tomorrow.

Indeed, with the strike over, it will enter its most critical though less visible phase.

On the one hand Mr Scargill and his supporters will be fighting to maintain their authority and their positions of control. They have to show why they should still remain in office after inflicting 12 months' hardship on the rank and file with nothing at all to show for it. Fine words about setting a great example for the rest of the trade union movement will not pay any housekeeping bills. Moreover, though the talk about "guerrilla warfare" in particular coal fields is consistent with the Scargill strategy of forging a private army of young shock troops hardened by their strike experience, will the rest of the NUM put up with such tactics if they interfere with an overall agreement for wage increases, back pay and other arrangements which everybody in the industry must now be keen to see implemented swiftly as part of the back-to-work process?

Those who stayed out on strike have said they will never forgive "scabs" and intend to carry on with the war at the coal face. But those who return to work, whenever they did, will have been fortified against such attacks from their fellow trade unionists by the fact that each one of them had to take an individual decision to return to work. Each miner was thus his own man, defying union authority - and that is what union officials would hope to avenge in the incitement of any victimisation of "scabs".

On the other hand the working miners intend to persist with their attempts to change the NUM's leadership. The cases brought by them are still before the courts. Union funds are still in the hands of the sequester until Mr Scargill and his sidesmen purge their contempt. There may be further actions to force some of the current NUM leadership to stand for re-election where they could be called to account for their disastrous conduct.

The strike has been defeated. The attempt by Mr Scargill to use industrial muscle to challenge the parliamentary system, the policies of a freely elected government and the rule of law has been defeated. But the hard left's grip on the NUM leadership has not yet been defeated. That is tomorrow's struggle within the NUM. Those individuals and working miners deserve moral support of moderate trade unionists everywhere many of whose unions are just as vulnerable to a threat from hard left cliques in their midst as was the NUM. The moderate miners also deserve the moral support of the Government whose aim must now be to encourage moderate trade unionism everywhere by doing business with moderate trade union leadership. The challenge and menace of Scargillism has been crushed. We have seen the face of defeat. We await the responsibility of victory.

## DOUBLE ACT IN POLAND

Developments in Poland over the past months have been intricate, inconclusive, even bewildering. First, the Government announced steep food price rises which in the past have provoked widespread popular unrest. Solidarity's underground leadership then called a nationwide 15-minute protest strike for noon last Thursday. The Government responded by stepping up its propaganda attacks on Solidarity (as well as the church), arresting three well-known opposition leaders, and threatening Lech Walesa with prosecution. Walesa became only more outspoken in his support for the symbolic strike. Then, mysteriously, just four days before Solidarity's planned strike, the official trade unions came out strongly against the food price rises - a stand immediately and proudly reported by the official media. As if in response, the Government promptly withdrew its price proposals "for further consideration". Solidarity withdrew its strike call. With the strike threat removed, the Government has now announced that prices will be increased in several discreet stages over the next four months.

What has really been going on? Although the new official trade unions have not everywhere been loyal puppets to the Communist authorities which

created them, in this case they - or to be precise, their national leaders - must have played a carefully co-ordinated double act with the authorities. Afraid that the workers would follow Solidarity's call, but determined not to be seen to yield to Walesa's defiance, the Jaruzelski Government graciously conceded to the clamour call of the official union, like a ventriloquist retreating before the wrath of his dummy.

Western admirers of the Jaruzelski regime might point to this as an example of its "responsiveness" to public opinion. Eastern detractors would call it weakness. What is truly characteristic of this regime, however, is its extraordinary gift for falling between all possible stools. Here, for example, it secured neither popular consent to price rises through dialogue, nor popular acceptance of them through coercion - the more normal method in a Communist state. Instead, the coercion which a Soviet Communist would surely regard as "half-hearted", actually fuels the resistance. On the available evidence, it seems that the mutually fragile working class support for Solidarity's strike call was significantly increased by the arrests and the threat to Walesa.

Incoherence is equally apparent in the economic background

to last month's manoeuvres. Most independent economists would agree that some food price rises are necessary. But they are particularly necessary because the Government itself has allowed wages in the state sector - that is most of the economy - to rise by more than 20 per cent last year. And it has done this mainly for the same reason that it has delayed the price rises: because it fears the anger of the workers. Now, this circle might begin to be squared if the authorities either reopened a genuine dialogue with the workers they fear, or really pushed ahead with a decentralizing economic reform which could allow market forces to work where Government fears to tread. But neither seems at all probable. Instead, this economic reform seems, alas, set fair to go the way of all its predecessors - half-measures, half-implemented.

Of course, the mere fact of political complexity is remarkable. Although it is nothing like true political pluralism it is a very long way from the monolithic political life of a standard Leninist Party-state. Nor can this "political game" be adequately described by the metaphor of "cat and mouse". In Poland the mouse often seems to be chasing the cat.

Gallery Fabergé exhibition (Galleries, February 26).

The inspiration for many of the carved stone studies of animals and birds derives, not as he claims from "antique Chinese models" but, in the main, from the Japanese naturalism of which Carl Fabergé himself owned a distinguished collection. Far from having avoided the acquisition of Easter eggs, three significant examples of these

ingenious objects, bought after the Revolution by the Royal Family, are on prominent display and are illustrated in splendid colour on three pages of the exhibition handbook.

Difficult to miss really! Yours faithfully, A. KENNETH SNOWMAN, Garrick Club, WC2, February 26.

## Fabergé models

From Mr A. Kenneth Snowman  
Sir, Without wishing in any way to disturb the predilections, or pre-judices of your art critic John Russell Taylor, to which he is of course entitled, I feel I should point out two inaccuracies which he has found possible to accommodate in the course of a brief and rather grudging note on the Queen's

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Keeping a watch on subversion

From Mr J. H. Lewen

Sir, The last paragraph but one of your leading article of February 25 contains an important point which I trust will not be overshadowed by the other weighty matters in the article.

As an ordinary citizen I would not wish the work of the security services to be hampered by disloyal revelations, but I am relieved to learn that a watch is probably being kept on organisations which, whatever the motives of many of their members, can be used to weaken our defences, damage our economy or encourage disloyalty in the public service.

The fact that an organisation may legally exist does not mean that all that it does is legal, and the fact that it has a high-sounding name does not mean that it is necessarily working for the common good. The aims of both the CND and the NCCL seem strangely selective and raise questions such as: disarmament by whom and liberty for whom and to whose advantage?

Hostile intelligence agencies would be failing in their duty if they did not try to penetrate such organisations. I do not say that they succeed, but our own security services would be failing in their duty if they did not keep an eye (or ear) on such activities.

To call this "a fundamental attack on civil liberties" as does Mrs Michelle Pearce in your letter column today (February 26), is an example of the slanted approach referred to above. Conspiracy and subversion cannot be detected without investigation, and as with any offence innocent people may need to be examined before culprits are discovered; those who object to this either wish the culprits to get away with it, or themselves have something to hide.

Yours faithfully, J. H. LEWEN, 1 Brimley Road, Cambridge, February 26.

### Interests of the State

From Mr A. C. Geddes

Sir, The jury in the Ponting trial had to be satisfied that they were sure that Mr Ponting, in communicating the information in question to Mr Dailly, did so to a person "other than one to whom it is in the interest of the State to communicate it" (section 2a of the Official Secrets Act).

The proper construction of the term "interests of the State" which is a matter of law for the judge and not a question for the jury, was considered by the House of Lords in *Chandler v DPP* 1964 AC 763. Lord Pearce, with whom Lord Devlin agreed, stated that in the context of the Act "the interests of the State must in my judgment mean the interests of the State according to the policies laid down for it by its recognized organs of government and authority; the policies of the State as they are, not as they ought to be in the opinion of the jury to be".

The other members of the House, while not being so explicit, did not dissent from these judgments. Mr Justice McCowan would have been bound by that decision. I fail to see therefore how the judge's direction, which you misquote in your leader of February 25, was a "disgraceful statement".

Yours etc, A. C. GEDDES, Goldsmith Building, Temple, EC4, February 26.

### On their own feet

From Lady Miskin

Sir, I read your excellent leader, "Budget boldness" (February 22). However, in the queue of things needing reform there is one glaring omission: the anomaly that married women with earned income have the right to choose whether or not they are taxed separately from their husbands, whereas those married women with unearned (ie, saved) income do not have this choice.

In *The Times* of today (February 25) Sir William Clark is quoted as saying that "Conservative philosophy is to help people stand on their own feet". Perhaps Mr Nigel Lawson might consider helping an outpost of married women do just that.

Yours sincerely, SHEILA MISKIN, Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, EC4.

### Programme copyright

From Mr Hugh Brett

Sir, Mr David Green (February 15) draws attention to the Office of Fair Trading's refusal of the BBC and ITV practice of restricting the publication of advance programme information to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

This reference was prompted, no doubt, by the High Court's decision in the summer of last year, when the BBC and ITV successfully claimed and enforced copyright in their programme schedules. In consequence, *Time Out* was prevented from publishing advance information on ITV viewing in its "listings" of future entertainment.

Mr Green expresses surprise that a copyright owner may have the exercise of his rights questioned; but in fact this is not the first "copyright" reference by the Office of Fair Trading. It has already referred the Ford Motor Company's practice of using its copyright to restrict spare-part manufacturers from making body panels for Ford vehicles, and the Monopolies and Mergers Commission's report urges the company to modify its practice (report, March 1).

What is disturbing about the

### Question of the Speaker's conduct

From Mr Michael Foot, MP for Blaenau Gwent (Labour)

Sir, Immediately I read the extracts from Viscount Tonypandy's book which appeared in *The Sunday Times* on February 3, I wrote to him in these terms:

I am surprised to read, in *The Sunday Times*, extracts from a book of yours in which you report confidential conversations and exchanges which took place when you were Speaker. I cannot see how this can assist the present Speaker or future Speaker who may wish to have similar confidential conversations. It seems to me that their publication is a breach of trust and can only do injury to Parliament.

I am surprised also - although this is a lesser matter since, according to my recollection, it seems to give a highly biased account of events. I shall naturally read the whole book before judging whether such a conclusion is justified. But, as far as I can see, nothing can justify your action which has led to my criticism in the first paragraph.

Viscount Tonypandy replied to me, defending his action. Inviting me to read the whole book, but failing to meet the main point of my letter. So I replied to him in these terms:

I am sorry you have not attempted to deal with the main point of my letter - the breach of faith involved in reporting confidential conversations. I do not for a moment imagine that the present Speaker regards your precedent as an assistance to him; indeed, I imagine that he takes the exact opposite view. I will naturally read the whole of your book when it comes out. I doubt very much whether it will change my view about the extracts which have already appeared and I will hold myself free to express my views in public when the book appears.

Soon after the book appeared, I made a short statement to your

Political Correspondent as follows: I suppose George might be covered by the Official Secrets Act. There's a better case against him than against Ponting. I am glad to see that the present Speaker is doing his best to restore the necessary confidential authority of his office.

On the question of the conduct of the Speaker, not much more needs to be added. If the Speaker cannot have confidential conversations, he cannot do his job properly. I am glad to see that the present Speaker recognises this even if Viscount Tonypandy no longer does.

This is the question of major importance. However, perhaps you will permit me to add that page after page in Viscount Tonypandy's book is grotesquely misleading in the impression it seeks to give, and this is a view that has been expressed to me by several members of Parliament who have now had a chance of reading the passages which refer to themselves.

I am accused by some of your correspondents of having attempted to "bully" the Speaker. If I ever did so - and I deny the charge absolutely - it would have been for Viscount Tonypandy to remonstrate with me at the time. To my recollection, he never did so.

What he usually did was to accept without question the advice given him by his officials. He usually didn't seem to understand that these were matters of argument, and that there were other experts, including previous Clerks to the House of Commons, whose advice was just as good as that which he was always inclined to accept.

MICHAEL FOOT, House of Commons, March 1.

### Broadcasting's future

From Ms Valerie Henderson

Sir, As an Englishwoman living in the United States I have been disturbed and dismayed at the difficulties now being experienced by the BBC over the proposed increase in licence fees. I wish that some of the people who protest so loudly at this increase could be deprived of the BBC for ten years as I have been.

American radio and television is run on similar lines to that being advocated by some people in Great Britain. No licence fee is paid and the majority of radio and TV broadcasts are commercial, with the inevitable dropping of standards that goes with the fight to gain the biggest audiences.

"Public" TV and radio (i.e., non-commercial) is supported by federal grants and contributions by corporations and private donations. There may be no commercials on these stations, but regular broadcast

appeals for money, including televised auction sales, are a necessary evil in order to keep public broadcasting solvent. Some good programming is produced through these devices, but it is an uphill battle and this type of financial aid inevitably produces biases.

In 1979 I became one of the founder members of a radio organization in Boston, Massachusetts, whose aim is to improve the quality and range of public radio in the US. We are at the beginning of a long and difficult struggle.

The BBC has achieved so much and should be supported - not attacked, Mr Alastair Milne (feature, February 26) is right to appeal to the good sense of our nation. We should listen to him and not take the precious birthright of excellent, unbiased broadcasting for granted.

Yours faithfully, VALERIE HENDERSON, President, The Public Media Foundation, Inc, 74 Joy Street, Boston, MA 02114, USA.

### Tactics on EEC trade

From Mr William F. Newton Dunn, MEP for Lincolnshire (European Democrat (Conservative))

Sir, Our Government is right to press the EEC to achieve a true common market so that Britain's strong service industries can create extra prosperity and jobs.

The window of opportunity for this remains wide open only until the end of this year. When Spain and Portugal join it will become much harder to agree the necessary reforms.

To achieve its goal the Government faces an important choice of tactics. One course is to try to persuade the other nine national governments to agree unanimously to abolish each of the many hidden national barriers against trade. On past performance, however, such a series of unanimous decisions will be equivalent to a series of miracles. Pragmatically, instead of hoping

for miracles, our Government should abandon their traditional habit of allowing all the other governments an individual veto over minor Commission proposals. Britain should, as provided in the Treaty of Rome, press for weighted majority voting in the Council of Ministers. This would ensure rapid progress towards achieving a true market, even if at the price of occasionally losing a vote.

Which tactic is preferred will be regarded by many as a test of the Government's sincerity about the EEC. If it chooses to preserve the veto over matters which are not of vital national interest, rather than to press its hardest to create a true market through majority voting, many people will doubt its sincerity about wanting to make the Community work.

Yours sincerely, BILL NEWTON DUNN, 10 Church Lane, Navenby, Lincoln.

### Informed consent

From Emeritus Professor Lipmann Kessel

Sir, Surely a patient should not be asked to consent to an operation, but rather should request that an operation be performed. Elaborations of forms of patient consent, as suggested by Mr Harris (February 27) can only lead to a more complex legal tangle; much to the benefit of lawyers, no doubt, but little to patient and surgeon alike.

Yours faithfully, LIPMANN KESSEL, 36 Menelik Road, NW2.

### Setting free the buses

From the Association of Transport Co-ordinating Officers

Sir, Mr Robert Young's letter (February 22) concerning the buses Bill is perhaps revealing of the way in which decisions in government are reached. If private-sector engineering is the ideal background for drafting transport legislation, would engineers be happier if they were told their business by one of the highly competent and qualified managers in the bus industry?

Nobody disputes that, despite the best efforts of all concerned, the number of passenger journeys made by bus has declined and the cost to the public purse has risen; where many of us part company from the Government is in the appropriateness of the remedy proposed.

Straightforward deregulation can only result in a volatile and disjointed pattern of bus services, which is most unlikely to be in the best interests of the bus user. In common with many other organisations, this association considers that the disadvantages could be overcome by a system of controlled competitive tendering, which could still meet the Government's objectives.

Sadly, there is no sign that this option has received serious consideration.

Yours sincerely, JOHN G. GLOVER, Chairman, c/o Transportation Planning Unit, County Hall, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, February 25.

## ON THIS DAY

MARCH 4, 1912  
Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) and her daughter Christabel founded the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903. From 1906 they became convinced that peaceful efforts to secure votes for women would not bring results and that more sensational methods were needed for the suffragettes accordingly became notorious, chaining themselves to railings and holding demonstrations - later resorting to window-breaking and the destruction of property. Mrs Pankhurst suffered a number of terms in prison; they ceased only with the outbreak of war in 1914. The Representation of the People Act giving votes to women was passed in 1918.

## THE OUTRAGES BY SUFFRAGISTS POLICE COURT PROCEEDINGS SENTENCE ON MRS. PANKHURST

At Bow-street Police Court on Saturday, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, the 12 women who were arrested in various parts of London on Friday in connexion with the window-smashing campaign organized by the Women's Social and Political Union surrendered to their trial.

The first charge taken was against Mrs. EMMELINE PANKHURST, Mrs. TURKEND and Mrs. E. K. MARSHALL. Mr. Musket said that the scenes which occurred in various streets in the West-end on Friday evening were probably the most outrageous and disgraceful which had yet characterized the woman suffrage movement. Altogether the damage done to windows was estimated at about £5,000 and 124 persons were arrested.

Mrs. Pankhurst said that this was not the first time she had been charged in connexion with this agitation. When she was last before the Court she hoped that what the women had done then would be "confined" to make the Government realize that women, who paid taxes, were entitled to the protection and privilege of the vote on the same terms as the men who paid taxes. The women had not secured the vote because they had done so. They had not been able to bring themselves to use the methods which won the vote for men. Within the last fortnight a member of the Government had challenged women to do far worse things than they had done on this occasion. Mr. Hobbouse, a Bristol, said that women had not proved their desire for the vote because they had done nothing of the kind which characterized the men's agitation for the suffrage, which led to the burning of Nottingham Castle, and the pulling down of Hyde Park railings. The Government had provided evidence which only the most stupid people could fail to see went to show that the women had not done enough to bring pressure to bear on the Government. Last week she wrote to Mr. Asquith asking him to meet a deputation in order that the question of the Referendum might be settled, but this was refused. Yet Mr. Asquith had gone, cap in hand, to the Miners' Federation to persuade them to come to some agreement with industrial opponents. What the women had done was a mere flea-bite as compared with what the miners were doing. They were paralyzing the whole of the life of the community. She hoped that the present action of the women would be enough to show that their agitation was going on. As soon as she was released from prison she should go further - just as far as was necessary - to show the Government that women intended to get representation for their taxes - that is, what she helped to pay the salaries of Cabinet Ministers, and even the magistrate's salary, were going to have some voice in the spending of those taxes. She was quite ready to go to prison, but the fight was going on. It was not for themselves that women were fighting, but for the freedom of their sex.

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## THE ARTS

Sir David Lean's eagerly awaited film of *A Passage to India* may prove to be the international making of the Bengali actor Victor Banerjee: John Higgins reports

## The new star from the East

When Sir David Lean's film of *A Passage to India* opens in London in the middle of the month a good deal of attention is going to focus on the young Bengali actor Victor Banerjee in the part of Dr Aziz. Aziz, it will be remembered, is the man in E. M. Forster's novel who organized the famous trip to the Marabar Caves and there may, or may not, have raped Adela Quested. Banerjee has appeared in Ray films but his face is not known to the wide film-going public. Indeed, the most surprising element of Lean's triumphant return to the cinema is that Banerjee has not been nominated for an Academy Award and Lean himself finds some disappointment in that.

Lean had seen Banerjee neither on screen nor stage (where his career started as a treble in *The Pirates of Penzance*) when he was being educated by the Christian Brothers in India before he came to England. The recommendation came from an Indian friend of Lean, introduced to him by Alexander Korda years ago. "Don't hang around in Bombay," was the advice, "where they all overact. Go to Calcutta, there's a very good young performer called Banerjee."

Is there all that difference between

the Bombay and the Calcutta style? "Yes," says Banerjee. "Theatre in Bombay is about escape. It always deals with a struggle between good and evil, and good always triumphs. As far as acting is concerned, the biggest ham gets the biggest round of applause. Calcutta is India's cultural capital, the home of Shakespeare, Tagore. I regard myself as part of Calcutta: a Bengali first and an Indian second." In fact Lean did not even have to go to Calcutta because Richard Goodwin, one of the producers on *Passage*, had also come up with the name of Victor Banerjee.

As usual Lean cast without screen tests. One of the legends of the cinema remains Lean's decision to take Julie Christie for *Doctor Zhivago* on the way she swung a handbag in *Billy Liar*. He selected Judy Davis for Adela Quested on the basis of two hours' conversation in Thorn-EMI's London office. "At the time it looked as though the finance was not going to come through. I had a couple of rooms filled with the packing cases that contained all our work on the film. At the end of those two hours I said 'If we ever make *Passage* you will be Adela'. She wanted the part and she waited for it." With Banerjee it took two days, again of discussion on the nature of the role.

What were Banerjee's first thoughts about Forster's novel? "Not very favourable. I read it when studying for my literature degree and had found it very interesting. But then it is foisted on practically every educated Indian: 'Describe E. M. Forster's India' is one of the favourite questions in the Civil Service entrance exam paper. I much preferred *Howard's End*. But give me Hardy or Dickens any day."

At the end of filming, though, he felt differently. "Forster began to command my respect - and my sympathy. Indeed, I reckon that Forster grasped more about Indian psychology in a short time than any other British writer, and it is pretty clear that his well known association with a Muslim boy must have helped. Other writers have reaped the harvest from the seed that he first sowed." Paul Scott? "I wouldn't be able to read him. So no comment."

"I particularly admire Forster's handling of the Marabar Caves incident. He understood that it would have been morally irresponsible to make an Indian doctor out to be a rapist, particularly of a white woman, and he understood the Indian's respect for women. If a woman is mugged in Calcutta, say, then she is mugged ever so politely;



"David is well known as a perfectionist": Victor Banerjee (right) directed by Sir David Lean



"Please give me the jewellery you are wearing."

During the early days of filming there were arguments, much reported in the Indian press, between Lean and Banerjee. The first concerned Aziz's accent, which Lean wanted more pronounced than Banerjee's very lightly inflected English, and Lean admits that he half lost that one. The second, which Lean won, was the darkening of Banerjee's skin for Aziz. The squabbles were quickly resolved and Banerjee spent practically the whole of the nine months' shooting on the set, whether he was required or not.

"David is well known as a perfectionist. He will take immense

effort in rejecting a set or a costume which everyone else thinks absolutely marvellous. But he constantly builds around the actors, moving a flowerpot here or a vase there. The film is never allowed to become a fashion show; it remains a narrative about five people. On screen you may be permitted to admire a landscape, but never an individual dress."

In interview Lean has once or twice referred to the Charlie Chaplin element in Aziz. Does Victor Banerjee agree? "It is there in the script at the beginning because the audience has to be made to love him - his obsequiousness, his excess of hospitality, his midsummer mad-

ness of falling in love - in order to accept his final arrogance. But once he is in the dock all trace of Chaplin disappears. Nor will you find any Chaplin in Forster. I think that is one major change between book and film: the other is that Forster's Aziz, a most complex character, is a Muslim and there is no mention of that on screen."

Has Lean done for Victor Banerjee what he did for Omar Sharif in *Doctor Zhivago*? "I hope not. I don't think that Omar has ever since faced a challenge as big as *Zhivago* and I certainly want more big challenges. I'd like to be cast as Hamlet, for example, in London's West End." And Banerjee, serious,

fast-witted and just about the right age, could be very interesting.

*Zhivago* came up on screen (television) a couple of weeks ago. Had David Lean watched it again? "Yes, I did. Generally I don't like seeing my old films but I really felt rather proud of this one and I think it was underrated when it first came out. As you remember most of the critics hated it - I think it only got one good notice in the whole of America. But Bob O'Brien of MGM added \$1m dollars to the publicity budget and the public responded."

And Sir David's next film? "Well, I have an idea. And after seeing *Zhivago* again it might just be another love story."

## Opera

### Playful decorations

#### Count Ory Coliseum

Why did Rossini write no more comic operas after *Le Comte Ory*? Possibly because there were no more comic operas to write. Having lasted a century, the genre was moribund, and here begins to convert itself into opera. Music and action begin to come apart: the characters are not communicating by what they sing; instead they sing to decorate the play. Hence the curious alienness of the recitatives in this score, for where music does not bedeck it has no other role.

The requirements for any staging of the opera thus have to be first-rate singing and a production which suffers no misapprehensions about the music actually meaning something. Anthony Besch's version, now nearing its quarter-century, fits the bill in this second respect. We are in a toyland, medieval France, and virtually all the singing is done straight at the audience. This is right. The characters are not communicating with each other but rather with the audience: we are the ones who have to be impressed. By Isobel Buchanan we certainly are. After a slightly worrying start as the chaste chateleine, with a failure of tone in the topmost notes and some heavy rhythmic approximations to the coloratura, she settled down beautifully. Her voice became as fine and gleaming as the silver thread in her gown.

#### Tristan and Isolde Coliseum

There were two newcomers, one entirely successful, the other less so, for Günter Friedrich's fine production of *Tristan and Isolde* for English National Opera. In the pit for the final performance of the season on Friday was Lionel Friend, attempting the impossible by following in the footsteps of Sir Reginald Goodall. He might have been tempted to give a young man's performance, propelling the music along with a feverish energy, but wisely he did not; the orchestra have become accustomed to allowing this vast, tragic symphony to unfold at its own pace.

His direction may lack something of the charisma that surrounds every Goodall reading these days, but he showed here that he is quite capable of extracting a reading of outstanding concentration, even though occasionally, and among some otherwise ravishing playing, the wind chording and tuning through this long evening was not fully precise.

For the last three performances of this run, Kenneth Woolam took over the part of Tristan from Alberto Remedios. He sings with admirable stamina, yet that alone cannot compensate for a voice that sounds tight-throated, nor for his tendency to waver around, rather than on, the written note. His acting, too, is slightly wooden, compromising the ardour of the character. A pity, for Johannes Meier, his Isolde, gives a strong reading, and she and the rest of the cast, together with Heinrich Wendel's enormous, spiralling sets and Stephen Watson's stunning lighting, combine to make Friedrich's vision a true Gesamtkunstwerk.

#### Stephen Pettitt

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Isobel Buchanan, making a splendid company debut as Countess Adele, with John Brecknock

#### Concert LSO/Hickox Barbican

It is not so much that Jorge Bolet makes Grieg's Piano Concerto sound different; it makes it sound more like itself than ever before. This affirmation of selfhood is not so much a case of metamorphosis as of fermentation. The exuberant invention of a 25-year old composer is settled, cherished and fervently reinforced by a performer of over twice as many years.

Bolet's slow tempi, his deep tenor, his long, considered silences could well have merely weighed the work down. But this was a ponderous reading only in the applied rather than the pure sense. His thinking was not so much weighty as deeply considered, then he went out massively in confirmation. Its reflection, in lyric melody or pianistic fancy, acted as the most malleable counterpoint, balancing calculation with spontaneity, forethought with instinct. It was a perfect illustration of Gerald Moore's favourite reminder that rubato is robbed not borrowed time, and as such does not have to be paid back.

There was many indelibly memorable moments: the singular quality of the one piano movement after a wonderfully dark, throaty string introduction; the elusive imagination of its rhapsodic tailpiece; the trampoline-sprung fingering of the finale; its oasis of a duet between piano and solo cello - a few short minutes of exquisite chamber music.

The entire performance was, in fact, an oasis in the London Symphony Orchestra's somewhat arid evening. Rossini's *Semiramide* Overture under Richard Hickox was little short of opaque, ill-coordinated; and Beethoven's Third Symphony, at once ploddingly literal and sluggishly under-specific, was a long way short of heroic.

#### Hilary Finch

Imogen Cooper regrets that she has had to postpone her piano recital at the Wigmore Hall, scheduled for Wednesday, because of illness.

#### Rock Joan Armatrading Hammershmith Odeon

Joan Armatrading is one of the classic heart-on-the-sleeve singer-songwriters, a performer after the manner of Joan Baez, Joni Mitchell and Janis Ian. Her audience, who have lived with her through the plainly revealed emotions expressed over the years in her songs, greeted her on this opening London performance with genuine affection.

Dressed simply in a plain white suit, and unspoiled by any hint of pretension, Armatrading set about the job in hand with cautious enthusiasm. She paused at one point to blow her nose, and talks to the audience as if making conversation at the dinner table. "Persona grata" and "Moves" from the latest album, *Secret Secrets*, were dispatched with gentle authority, and it was immediately plain that her current six-piece group of musicians - they seem to get younger every tour - are unusually gifted players. Particularly notable was the faultless interlocking of Steve Greenham's bass and Marc Parnell's drumming: on a revamped "Show Some Emotion" they laid the foundation for some especially potent jazz-funk sequences that were a highlight of the show.

But, despite momentary flashes, the performance was entirely a vehicle for the songs of Joan Armatrading. The arrangements and delivery were uncluttered sometimes to the point of anonymity, the musicians and music a backdrop to the bare emotion of Armatrading's introspective, personal songs of love whether won or lost, and growing or dimming passion. Her clear, accurate voice ranged with equal facility over the delicate "Love by You", accompanied by piano only, and the full-blooded "Kissin' and a Huggin'", where the band seemed to be enjoying a freer rein.

#### David Sinclair

Oscar Shumsky's debut at the Festival Hall was made with the Northern Sinfonia, in October 1983, not with the Philharmonia Orchestra as stated on this page.

#### Theatre Hamlet, the First, Quarto Orange Tree

The fascination of the First Quarto of 1603 is twofold: it forms the only hard evidence for an earlier Shakespearean version of the play we know, and it comes down to us in a pirated text whose corruptions owe much to the vagaries of Elizabethan shorthand - rather like a badly recorded bootleg tape of a live concert. Now, in a room over a pub in Richmond, it receives its first professional performance since 1949.

This variant telescopes the broad action of the Second Quarto into 60 per cent of its length. There are some surprising marginal gains. If, like me, you are unable to divorce the phrase "caviar to the general" from the image of a bemuddled old campaigner sniffing at a Fortnum's hamper, "caviar to the million" will press the light switch: "generality" was what was meant. What we miss, crucially, is the contemplative poetry of the final version with its abysses of sublime despair.

To hear the key speeches robbed of their chief jewels of imagery is to witness a muted, dreamlike *Hamlet* with the ghost of burlesque hovering in the air. "O that this too much griev'd and sullied flesh would

melt to nothing, or that the universal/Globe of heaven would turn all to a chaos!" sounds in performance less like a great dramatic poet trying out his wings than a third-rate actor trying to get to the end of the outburst with the aid of imperfect recollection. The register keeps slipping. It is a very curious experience to find yourself repeatedly on the point of standing up and correcting the players.

In a brisk, spare production, Peter Guinness tends to swallow his lines, as though even this stripped-down version were too wordy for his restless Renaissance thug of a Prince. There really is something in him dangerous. Irony for him is not an extra claw with which to tear at the world; sitting around the four sides of the stage, we look in on his cage, "Rosencrantz", "Gildenstern", "Leartes", the genteel bore called "Cornelius" (Polonius), the waspish, smarmy King and his more sympathetically drawn "Gertrude" - all are vaporized by his raging virulence until they become as hallucinatory as the Ghost.

Only Kate Spiro's "Ofelia" grows in substance. Her mad scene is ingenious and very moving; everything has broken up inside her; the songs and riddles that burst from her mouth are splinters of what used to be a person.

#### Martin Cropper

#### The Virgins' Revenge Soho Poly

The theme of Jude Alderson's polemical two-hander is the historical decline in status of prostitutes, from priestesses to kerbside trash. Over the millennia (the not unfamiliar argument runs) the sacred and the carnal have become so polarized that all women must now be labelled Madonna or Whore.

The play opens with a catalogue of the physical and moral degradation heaped on working girls since as a class they fell from grace, and proceeds to illustrate the absurdities of their condition through playlets jumping back and forth in time. The tiny stage becomes, in turn a futuristic state brothel, a suburban knocking shop of the Victorian age, the women's quarters of an Ancient Greek household and a modern living room where one of the prostitutes comforts the other after an assault by a respectable woman outside

whose house she was soliciting. The villains of the piece are, expectedly, men: Terry the vengeful ponce, Sir Terence the hypocritical politician, Terence the mythical trickster who raped his sister-in-law Philomela and cut out her tongue (a crimson spotlight makes sure we get the point). They intrude on the drama only as disembodied voices, and what little tension there is springs from the mood of beleaguered claustrophobia which their threatened arrival induces.

Annette Badland is a gloriously fat Psyche and Sheila Kelley a more worn, sardonic Philomela, but neither can make much of the uneven, confused material. The programme thanks the English Collective of Prostitutes for their advice and assistance. One presumes that they supplied the modern-life anecdotes that shine like street lamps through the surrounding pea-souper of obvious jokes, feminist slogans and bathetic invocations of Ur-mutter heroines.

#### Martin Cropper

#### Elisabeth Frink Royal Academy

As Sarah Kent points out in her introduction to the catalogue of the Royal Academy's major retrospective of the work of Elisabeth Frink (until March 24), Dame Elisabeth's sculpture has achieved a surprising degree of genuine popularity, reaching far wider than those usually interested in or even much aware of sculpture today. Why? One could, of course, point to her abiding interest in such reliable ways to the British heart as detailed naturalistic depiction of dogs and horses. But, if so, she has never seemed deliberately to court popularity thereby, and her monumental figures of humans, particularly males - and very explicitly male on the other side, being ugly and ungainly to many spectators and resolutely refusing to fit in with the prescriptions of the stricter feminist commentators as to what is proper in "woman's art".

The earliest sculpture in the show is the *Bird* of 1952, the

#### Galleries

most recent the *Horseman* completed this year. There is an even earlier drawing, and throughout Frink's drawings, as well as the graphics for the 1972 edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, keep up a discreet commentary on her work in three dimensions. Too discreet, perhaps, for I believe I am not the only one who tends to prefer the works on paper to those in bronze. All the same, it is evident that right from the start Frink has been a modeller at heart, and, no doubt more importantly, to the tip of her fingers. Her very dexterity sometimes drifts into facility: there are times when her sculpture is not so different from that of Plazotta or David Wynne as one might wish. But at her best she can certainly produce an image of a bird or a human that creates its own space with fine authority, and some of the massive heads of the mid-Seventies, which come close (perhaps unconsciously) to self-portraits in the set of the mouth and the slant of the nose, are intensely memorable.

John Russell Taylor

## Television

### A touch of flavour

Often when fiction is poibolled for television its original flavour gets lost. Not so with William Trevor who writes, as well as dramatizes, some of the best short stories in the language. Last night's *Access to Children* (Channel 4) was another polished adaptation in the tradition of *Autumn Sunshine* and *The Ballroom of Romance*.

It is Sunday, the day on which Malcolmson, morosely played by Donal McCann, is entrusted by his estranged wife with their two daughters. During the day, while bravely trying to entertain them, he reflects in flashbacks how he got into this position: how he left home for a girl, how she left him and how now he wants a return to his wife. As the day disintegrates into drunken self-pity, he learns his unforgetting wife loves someone else.

Presumably because of the series title - *Irish Love Stories* - Trevor alters the setting of his story from London to Dublin. There are other small changes, but the effect is the same. An ordinary domestic situation is gradually cast with deep shadows, and little things - a smile, a shared birthday - are invested with meanings they do not have until they become the straw icons by which a man can grasp at his tormenting past and his hapless future. The pace was measured, the script piercing and the acting faultless.

On Saturday ended Alan

Plater's adaptation of Agatha Christie's *A Murder is Announced* (BBC1). While the first two parts had been leisurely and quaint - with performances perhaps as starched as the costumes - this last had all the whiff of blackmail, secret identities and things to make upper-crust nostrils flare. At one point, it reached such a flurry of action and music that I thought the elderly ladies of Chipping Cleghorn had strayed into *Minder*.

With her wide forget-me-not eyes and periodical trances, Joan Hickson made a very good Miss Marple, so good in fact that, after watching her for a fortnight, she has almost displaced the image of Margaret Rutherford.

Cover Her Face (LWT), the third episode of P. D. James's six-part murder mystery, also took us for a rural ride. Adam Delaney, played with Roy Marsden's usual sparseness, seemed much slower than Miss Marple in truffling out the clues. But then last night he had more to deal with, as shamponoo romance lathered between the son of the mansion and Sally Jupp overacting a recently employed home-help. Sadly, no magnifying glass was needed to see it would all end in tears.

Nicholas Shakespeare

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1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FIVE TO FIFTEEN YEARS									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

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Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

UNDATED									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

INDEX-Linked									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BREWERIES									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BANKS DISCOUNT HP									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

ELECTRICALS									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

CAPITALIZATION & COMPANY									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

CAPITALIZATION & COMPANY									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

CAPITALIZATION & COMPANY									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

CAPITALIZATION & COMPANY									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

CAPITALIZATION & COMPANY									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BUILDING AND ROADS									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FINANCE AND LAND									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FOODS									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

CHEMICALS, PLASTICS									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

77	34.00	Paper	217	-1	2
78	804.30	Rancho	109	-1	2
79	804.30	804 SPD	109	-1	2
80	104.10	Stewart Plastic	109	-1	2
81	13.00	Wolfsdenne Kiosk	281	-1	2
82	16.40	Yonahing Chert	77	-1	2

CINEMAS AND TV									
Year	Month	Day	Price	Ch'ge	Int	Gross	Div	Yield	Yield
1981	Jan	1981	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1982	Jan	1982	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1983	Jan	1983	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1984	Jan	1984	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985	Jan	1985	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1986	Jan	1986	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1987	Jan	1987	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1988	Jan	1988	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1989	Jan	1989	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1990	Jan	1990	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1991	Jan	1991	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1992	Jan	1992	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1993	Jan	1993	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1994	Jan	1994	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1995	Jan	1995	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1996	Jan	1996	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1997	Jan	1997	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1998	Jan	1998	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1999	Jan	1999	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2000	Jan	2000	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2001	Jan	2001	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2002	Jan	2002	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2003	Jan	2003	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2004	Jan	2004	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2005	Jan	2005	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2006	Jan	2006	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2007	Jan	2007	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2008	Jan	2008	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2009	Jan	2009	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2010	Jan	2010	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2011	Jan	2011	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2012	Jan	2012	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2013	Jan	2013	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2014	Jan	2014	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2015	Jan	2015	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2016	Jan	2016	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2017	Jan	2017	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2018	Jan	2018	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2019	Jan	2019	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2020	Jan	2020	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2021	Jan	2021	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2022	Jan	2022	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2023	Jan	2023	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2024	Jan	2024	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2025	Jan	2025	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2026	Jan	2026	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2027	Jan	2027	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2028	Jan	2028	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2029	Jan	2029	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2030	Jan	2030	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2031	Jan	2031	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2032	Jan	2032	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2033	Jan	2033	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2034	Jan	2034	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2035	Jan	2035	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2036	Jan	2036	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2037	Jan	2037	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2038	Jan	2038	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2039	Jan	2039	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2040	Jan	2040	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2041	Jan	2041	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2042	Jan	2042	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2043	Jan	2043	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2044	Jan	2044	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2045	Jan	2045	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2046	Jan	2046	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2047	Jan	2047	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2048	Jan	2048	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2049	Jan	2049	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2050	Jan	2050	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2051	Jan	2051	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2052	Jan	2052	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2053	Jan	2053	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2054	Jan	2054	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2055	Jan	2055	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2056	Jan	2056	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2057	Jan	2057	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2058	Jan	2058	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2059	Jan	2059	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2060	Jan	2060	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2061	Jan	2061	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2062	Jan	2062	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2063	Jan	2063	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2064	Jan	2064	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2065	Jan	2065	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2066	Jan	2066	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2067	Jan	2067	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2068	Jan	2068	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2069	Jan	2069	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2070	Jan	2070	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2071	Jan	2071	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2072	Jan	2072	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2073	Jan	2073	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2074	Jan	2074	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2075	Jan	2075	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2076	Jan	2076	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2077	Jan	2077	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2078	Jan	2078	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2079	Jan	2079	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2080	Jan	2080	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2081	Jan	2081	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2082	Jan	2082	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2083	Jan	2083	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2084	Jan	2084	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2085	Jan	2085	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2086	Jan	2086	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2087	Jan	2087	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2088	Jan	2088	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2089	Jan	2089	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2090	Jan	2090	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2091	Jan	2091	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2092	Jan	2092	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2093	Jan	2093	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2094	Jan	2094	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2095	Jan	2095	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2096	Jan	2096	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2097	Jan	2097	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2098	Jan	2098	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2099	Jan	2099	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2100	Jan	2100	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2101	Jan	2101	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2102	Jan	2102	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2103	Jan	2103	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2104	Jan	2104	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2105	Jan	2105	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2106	Jan	2106	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2107	Jan	2107	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2108	Jan	2108	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2109	Jan	2109	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2110	Jan	2110	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2111	Jan	2111	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2112	Jan	2112	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2113	Jan	2113	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2114	Jan	2							



THE TIMES

## FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

Executive Editor Kenneth Fleet

## The best way to fill up an empty Budget

We all happily suppose that "reform" is something that should reduce our individual tax bills, and are affronted by the discovery it might put some part of our tax bills up. So the tax-reforming politician likes to begin with cash to distribute, and aim to lighten the tax burdens of all, while quietly altering their relative weights.

Thus it is that expectations of a truly tax-reforming Budget have been fading. For Mr Nigel Lawson has been warning us excitable children not to expect too much in our Budget stockings this year. The "January crisis" in the currency markets - still with us in March - has, he has let it be known, narrowed his scope for tax cuts.

Well, has it? A most useful little checklist of changes since the Autumn Statement published today by Simon & Coates, suggests his scope for tax cuts has actually been increased, to more than £1.8 billion. This is interesting, because the author, Gavin Davies, has tried to be deliberately pessimistic about the impact of higher interest rates on economic growth and tax revenues, following the Treasury's known views. But he probably pitches the yield from oil taxes higher than the Chancellor will do on Budget day, since this is a tight corner in the figures where the Treasury has frequently built in some margin for disappointment.

In any event, Mr Davies subscribes to the City consensus that the Chancellor would use spare cash to make his existing targets more credible or to reduce public borrowing. In other words, the lubricant of tax reform will now have to be poured out on to troubled financial waters.

This leaves him two obvious options: to launch changes unaided by cash, into the rocks of Parliamentary opposition; or put it off, perhaps for good. But there is a way of maintaining the momentum of reform, which is to set such changes as Mr Lawson dares to make within a bolder and clearer strategic plan of other changes to come - thus, incidentally, doing something to meet the polite but mounting requests that the Government's tax strategy should be allowed a modicum of public consideration before it is made an issue of party loyalty in Parliament.

## Objectives unclear

For it is far from clear what the Chancellor's objectives are for the tax system, still less what his next-door neighbour's overriding intentions are.

The Government has preached the value of lower rates of taxation financed by sweeping away the expensive clutter of allowances, and embarked on such a reform for corporation tax.

Yet it has abandoned early plans to cut income tax rates and has been spending all its money increasing allowances. It has done so even though across-the-board increases in tax thresholds do relatively little for those family breadwinners in the "poverty trap" they are intended to help.

At the same time, the Chancellor has begun an assault on specific income tax reliefs with the soft underbelly of life assurance, although his predecessor had actually revived mortgage tax relief, which had been allowed to shrink with inflation.

Although the Government has preached the virtues of fiscal neutrality, it has itself introduced some of the most dramatic fiscal privileges (notably for the Business Expansion Scheme). It has proudly abolished the "tax on jobs" - the National Insurance surcharge - while forcing up

ordinary National Insurance contributions by reducing the Exchequer subsidy to the National Insurance Fund.

We do not even know whether the Government believes in the continuation of a separate National Insurance, or is considering fusing it with income tax. While it remains separate, the combination of higher contributions and another of the Government's reforms - the abolition of the investment income surcharge - makes the lowest rate of state deductions from earned income 9 per cent, points higher than the tax on unearned income.

Meanwhile, it remains quite unclear whether the Government is opposed to capital taxation on principle - or whether it will simply continue to dismantle tiresome bits on pragmatic grounds.

Last, while the Chancellor has been pushing at the boundaries of the VAT tax base, we do not know whether he is merely grasping at straws of revenue, or fundamentally believes that spending taxes should cover the whole range of consumer purchases, including "essentials" - leaving the business of poverty relief to the income tax and Social Security systems.

## Fiscal neutrality

We do, of course, have some admirable expressions of principle from the Government: the difficulty is to fit them together. The Chancellor favours fiscal neutrality, seeing it as conducive to economic efficiency and personal freedom, in that if all activities bear roughly the same burden of tax, individual choice is not distorted.

But he also wants a shift in the tax burden from income to expenditure, which - unless the indirect tax system is reformed - tends to make the tax system even less "neutral" between different categories of expenditure. We further know the Government is prepared to use the tax system in pursuit of wider personal share ownership, its new vision of the property-owning democracy.

Of course, we cannot expect perfect coherence. Even if the principles were clear, some compromises would be necessary for the sake of administrative simplicity.

Even the disarmingly simple notion of neutrality is impossible to perfect in practice. We can, meanwhile, be grateful for minor reforms which do not tangle with thorny issues of principle, but merely strip out those taxes which have become a lawyers' playground of inefficiency.

But it is time to ask, if not for the vision of a Haussmann, at least for a half-competent planning officer's report. The fundamental choice remains between what might be called a "hands-off" and a "hands-on" tax policy. The pursuit of neutrality means, in effect, that the Chancellor has to forsake taxation as an instrument of other policies, and concentrate on raising the money needed to finance spending as widely and indiscriminately and sparsely as possible.

Alternatively, the Chancellor can concentrate on reshaping the tax system to serve the social purposes that seem right to the Government, such as the stimulation of employment or of share ownership. But he cannot hope to combine the incompatible merely by keeping his purposes vague: and he owes us the courtesy of a strategic explanation.

Sarah Hogg  
Economics Editor

## Budget 'will steer clear of pensions'

By David Smith  
Economics Correspondent

Pensions are unlikely to come under attack in the Budget, according to City economists. Mr Lawson is expected to produce a cautious Budget, with only minor tax reform.

Mr Christopher Johnson of Lloyds Bank, Mr Gavin Davies of the broking firm Simon & Coates and Mr Malcolm Roberts of Laing & Cruckshank, the stockbroker, say that the only element of pension tax reform will be the gradual phasing out of tax relief on lump sums, with very little impact on revenue for some time. A tax on pension funds' investment income, they say, is now unlikely.

Mr Johnson adds that a 10 per cent tax on pension fund income would be seen as "an opportunistic grab for the Revenue".

The general expectation is for a cautious Budget, with a public sector borrowing requirement target of £5.5-£7 billion, and tax cuts of little more than £1 billion, mainly in the form of raising tax allowances and thresholds.

Value-added-tax coverage will be extended, but only modestly, the economists say. Mr Davies expects VAT to be applied to commercial property, newspaper advertising and possibly, newspapers and books.

Mr Johnson expects big changes in the system of national insurance contributions, with a cut in contribution rates for the lower paid and part-time workers and a shift in the upper earnings limit to £20,000, from the current £13,780.

## Howard Doris close to decision on new yard

By David Young, Energy Correspondent

Howard Doris, the North Sea oil rig builder, will announce soon where it plans to open its third construction facility in Britain, to take advantage of the expected surge in orders from the second wave of North Sea oil and gas developments.

The company appears to have abandoned plans to build the yard at Chatham, Kent, on land owned by the John Howard construction group, one of its main shareholders. The site, in the new North Kent Enterprise Zone, would have provided welcome jobs after the rundown of the Royal Navy dockyard at Chatham, but there were various technical problems.

The likeliest site for the yard is on Teesside, although an established yard on the east

coast of Scotland has been looked at.

The rig builder already has two fabrication sites in Scotland, one at Loch Kishorn on the west coast and one in Fife, but both are designed for building the massive structures needed for the northern sector of the North Sea.

The new yard will be specifically used for building smaller structures, although tenders for work for gas fields in the southern part of the North Sea have been submitted by Howard Doris.

Mr Albert Granville, the company's managing director, said a definite choice on the site will be made in the next couple of weeks, depending on the financial terms being negotiated.

## MARKET SUMMARY

## STOCK MARKETS

Friday's close and change on week	
FT Ind Ord	975.0 (-0.2)
FT-A All Share	805.82 (-5.28)
FT-GE 100	80.17 (+0.85)
Bargains	1250.8 (-18.1)
Dataseam USM	24.534
New York	108.88 (+0.81)
Dow Jones	1299.36 (+23.52)
Nikkei Dow	12,412.14 (+265.08)

## GOLD

Friday's close and change on week	
London fixing	am \$288.10 pm \$287.25
close	\$287.25-287.50 (\$287.75-288.25)
New York	Comex (latest) \$290.25

## CURRENCIES

Friday's close and change on week	
London	\$: \$1.0715 (-0.005)
	DM 8.8020 (-0.0465)
New York	\$: \$1.0775
	DM 8.8465
\$ Index	154.3 (-0.6)

## INTEREST RATES

London	
Bank Base	14%
3-month interbank	14 1/4-14%
3-month eligible bills	13 1/4-13 1/2%
buying rate	US:
Prime Rate	10.50%
Federal Funds	8 1/4%
3-month Treasury Bills	8.66-8.62%
Long bond	9.54-9.5%

## BOARD MEETINGS

TODAY - Interim D. Bryant, CVDS Inc, Medminster Polytechnic Marine, Final: British Vita, Child Health Research Investment Trust, Hawley Group, Ransomes, Sims and Jeffries, Rights and Issues, Woodhouse Trust, Royal Insurance, Woodhouse and Ruxton.	
TOMORROW - Interim: AAH Holdings, Consolidated Gold Fields, Moran Tea Holdings, Final: Candover Investments, Fleming Mercantile Investment Trust, Instam, Johnstone's Patents, National Westminster Bank, Orlane International, Provident Financial, Unilever NV, Unilever.	

## Cable &amp; Wireless set for key role in China's technical future

By Kenneth Fleet

The Chinese Vice-Minister of Post and Telecommunications, Mr Wu Jichuan, and the chairman of Cable and Wireless, Sir Eric Sharp, have reached an agreement that will strengthen immeasurably the valuable connection between the company and the People's Republic of China.

A joint memorandum will be signed in Peking today covering two projects of high potential significance.

● The development of telecommunications services in the Yangtze Delta, China's "Golden Area" where telecommunications traffic is already growing at 25 per cent a year.

● A new Telecommunications Technology Development Centre in Peking to include conference, office and hotel facilities, which will provide consultancy services for city and provincial authorities throughout China and facilities for importing advanced communications equipment and data-based services.

A tired but jubilant Sir Eric told me over the telephone from

Peking: "With our existing developments in South China, this agreement reinforces the strategic presence of Cable and Wireless in China and South-East Asia, the region of the world that in our opinion has the greatest potential for growth."

Sir Eric attached particular importance to the fact that the agreement is with the central government. Previous agreements have been with provincial and municipal authorities. He also believes that it augurs well for British industry in general. Lord Young's trade mission, which leaves Peking today for Shanghai, Sir Eric said, "has gone well. The atmosphere is cordial and there is great willingness to allow the British to take advantage of the opportunities that exist".

The Cable and Wireless agreement is for feasibility studies, undertaken with a view to setting up joint ventures that would accelerate the development of telecommunications in China.

Two initial concepts are the



Sir Eric Sharp: accord augurs well for Britain.

replacement of mechanical with digital exchanges and the nature of the company that will decide the services required and the equipment to be installed.

Sir Eric said he expected the studies to be completed by the end of the year. The next move would be to set up a joint company to cover the three major provinces in the Yangtze Delta (Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Nan-nui) and the Shanghai municipality. It would charge

existing telephone operating companies for equipment and services.

The four authorities and the ministry of Posts and Telecommunications would have 51 per cent of the equity, with Cable and Wireless having 49 per cent.

The capital spending programme envisaged for the area exceeds \$500 million (£469 million), spread over the next five years. The cost of the development centre in Peking is put at \$20 million.

Sir Eric believes that Cable and Wireless now has "a unique position" in China where it has been doing business for more than 100 years.

In the last 12 years it has actively developed operational links with the People's Republic by virtue of its position in Hong Kong and Macao.

Cable and Wireless was privatized by the Government in 1981. It provides telecommunications services in about 30 countries, does business in 60, is responsible for the new Mercury network in Britain, and has proved an outstanding investment.

## IN BRIEF

## Dunlop says 'no' again

Sir Michael Edwardes, chairman of Dunlop, has told shareholders once again to reject what he describes as "an absurdly low offer" from BTR.

In his latest circular to shareholders, Sir Michael says that BTR will need to "massively increase its offer if it is to have any chance of acquiring Dunlop".

The board, supported by Hill Samuel and S. G. Warburg, the merchant bankers recommends taking no action on any document that BTR may send out this week before the next acceptance date on March 7.

Sir Michael said that the information demanded by BTR in its appeal to the Takeover Panel last week was "simply not ready yet".

## Base rate hope

Bank base rates could fall by about 1/2 per cent point or 1 per cent point near Budget Day on March 19, and by 4 per cent points by the end of the year, according to the National Westminster Bank. This would take them from 14 per cent to 10 per cent by the end of the year.

## Midland sell-off

The Midland Bank expects to raise "several hundreds of millions of pounds" by selling investments such as its stake in Investors in Industry and other fund-raising activities. Mr Ian Morrison, assistant general manager of the bank, said yesterday on *The Business Programme*, on Channel Four

Herr Martin Bagemann, the West German economics minister, said he expected three days of high-level talks in West Germany, which ended yesterday, to have prepared the ground for a breakthrough in liberalizing world trade.

## Bank quote

Adam & Co, the first new Scottish banking organization to offer retail banking services since 1844, plans to seek a full listing once it obtains recognized banking status from the Bank of England, in three years.

## Kuwait shuffle

Sheikh Ali Khalifa Al-Sabah has been named Kuwait's oil and industries minister in a cabinet shuffle. Sheikh Ali drops his duties as finance minister and requires new responsibilities in heading the country's industrial development.

## Accountants likely to urge audit reform

By Jeremy Warner

A change in the law to allow the Bank of England to communicate with firms auditing the accounts of banks and licensed deposit takers, is expected to be recommended by the Institute of Chartered Accountants in a written submission this week to the Bank Governor's review of banking supervision.

A wide-ranging inquiry into banking supervision was ordered by Mr Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor, last December after the £150 million collapse of Johnson Matthey Bankers.

The institute believes that some form of dialogue between auditors and the Bank of England would enormously improve the supervisory system. Such contact is at present specifically forbidden by Section 19 of the Banking Act on the grounds of confidentiality.

The present supervisory system relies on quarterly returns by banks and deposit takers on information including loan portfolio risk and liquidity and

foreign currency exposure. These are supplemented by "prudential interviews" with senior managers.

In addition to the written submission, Mr Alan Harcourt, president of the institute, intends to give oral evidence to the review this month.

This is expected to touch on the precise form of communication between the Bank and the auditors that should be allowed; whether firms should prepare special reports for the Bank outside their normal audit duties; whether bank audits should be confined to certain types of firm and whether special guidelines should be drawn up for auditing bank accounts.

A recent report by Price Waterhouse, the accountants, on Johnson Matthey Bankers which is being kept confidential by the Bank of England is believed to show that JMB's loan book was in disarray at the time of the bank's collapse.

## ICI board looks for US recruit

By Jonathan Davis  
Business Correspondent

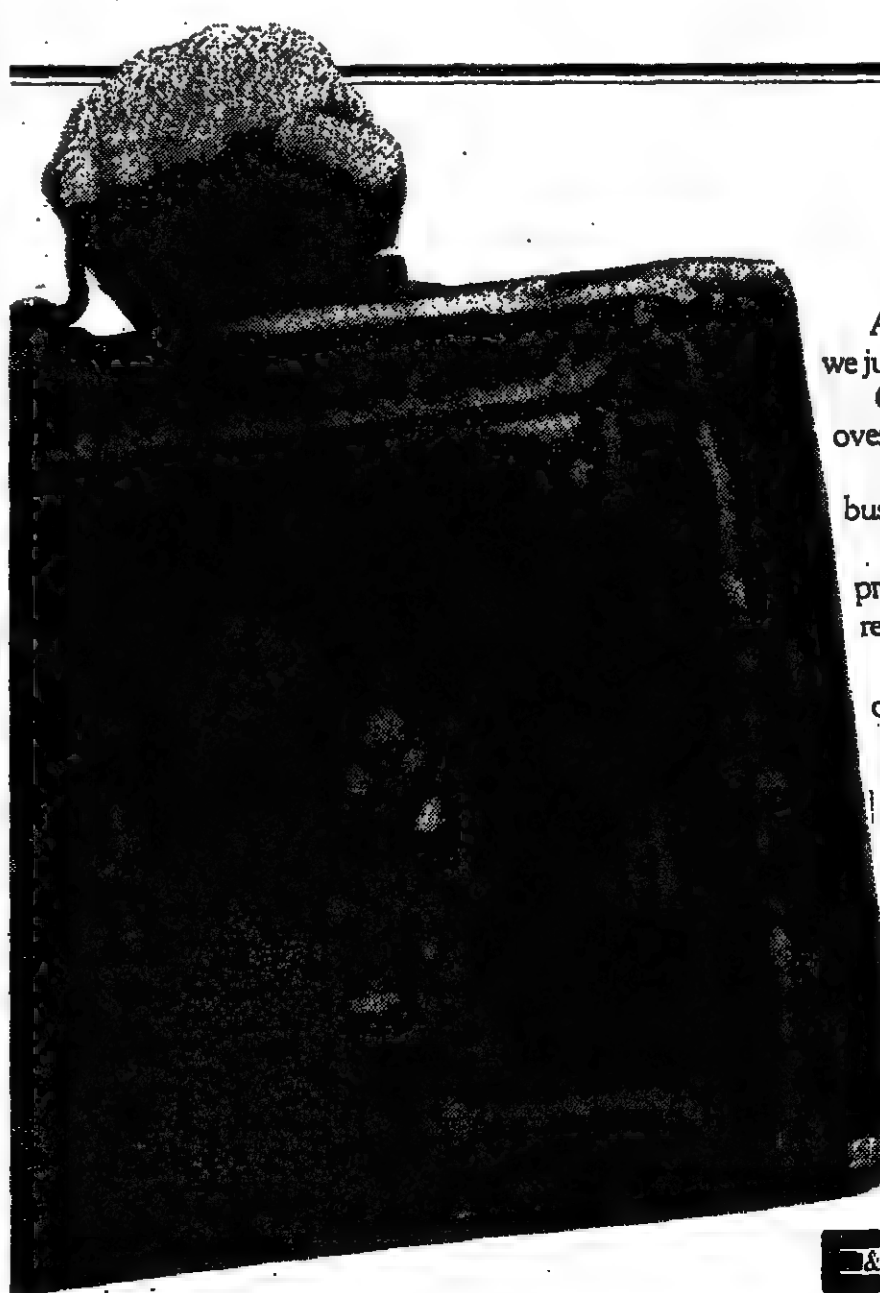
ICI which recently appointed its first Japanese director, is now looking for a top American businessman to join its board as well.

The search for a suitable figure has been going on for several weeks, though so far without success. One difficulty is that ICI is adamant that it wants someone who holds a full-time top management post with a big corporation.

Mr John Harvey-Jones, ICI's chairman, is believed to be prepared to consider changing ICI's cycle of monthly board meetings to make it easier for his foreign directors to attend if he can find an American director of the right calibre.

The Japanese director who was appointed in January is Mr Shoji Saba, president and chief executive of Toshiba, the Japanese electronics group. ICI also has a German director, Herr Walther Kiep, managing partner of Gradmann & Holter, the West German insurance group.

## THE INSIDE STORY. INSIDE 24 HOURS.



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ATHLETICS: INDOOR SUCCESS MARKS SPRINTERS' STEP UP IN CLASS

# Bennett's world best time caps Britain's medals tally

From Pat Butcher, Athens

Todd Bennett added the only dimension which could embellish his expected victory in the European Indoor Championships here yesterday, when he broke the world best time in winning the 400 metres. Bennett's time of 45.56secs maintained the tradition of at least one world best in each of the 16 championships. His gold medal capped an excellent weekend for British athletes, as Rob Harrison and Mike Macfarlane also won gold, and Heather Oakes and Yvonne Murray took bronze medals.

Bennett was willing to admit that this fine performance against relatively mediocre opposition must pre-empt the breakthrough to sub-45secs outdoors that he has promised since winning the European junior title in 1981.

For a world class sprinter, Bennett had a curious start to his athletics career. Six years ago, aged 16, he was a sleep-chaser, with a best time of 4min 29secs over 1,500 metres. Mike Smith, club sprint coach for Southampton and Eastleigh, then persuaded him to lower his distance, and one of the most astute transitions in British athletics was begun.

Bennett is now English record holder at 200 metres with 20.36sec (Allan Wells, a Scot, holds the British record), and the disappointment of finding that Thomas Schoenlebe, his conqueror from the recent World Indoor Games was not here was assuaged when Bennett took four-hundredths of a second off the world-best time that the East German set in Paris.

Bennett now looks set to attack David Jenkins' British

record of 11.93secs, set 10 years ago, and that may relieve another anachronism. For Bennett is not even his club record holder outdoors. Kris Akabusi with 45.43secs is 0.02sec faster than Bennett. Akabusi is not in that sort of form, but he went out in his heat here, but their other club colleague, Roger Black, a junior also coached by Smith, reached the semi-finals before being baulked by a runner who had tripped.

Rob Harrison celebrated his first international championship by dominating the 800 metres. He had come prepared to break 1min 47secs and set a personal best in the semi-final of 1:47.72. But he took best advantage of a more sedate pace in the final, was always placed just right, and went going away from his main fancied opponents in 1:49.09.

Both Bennett and Harrison will be competing in the match against the United States at a Coxford next Saturday, as will Macfarlane, who won the 60 metres on Saturday, breaking two British bests for the distance en route. He won in 6.61 sec. He attributed his success to a recent tour of the United States, and will attempt to repay the compliment by beating his American rivals on Saturday.

Heather Oakes beat Silke Gladisch, who had beaten the Briton in Paris, but unfortunately there were two other top class Europeans in front of Mrs Oakes yesterday. Nelly Cooman, of the Netherlands, inflicted a rare defeat on the East German world champion, Marlies Göhr, who had her right leg heavily strapped. But



Home stretch: Bennett captures gold

both were well clear of Mrs Oakes.

Yvonne Murray also beat more fancied opponents, by hanging on closely to the pre-eminent Olga Bosadrenko, of the Soviet Union, and Agnese Possumai, the Italian whose victory gave her a hat-trick of titles in the 3,000 metres. Miss Murray, aged 20, improved her personal best to

9min 0.94sec and is getting close to breaking into the ranks of such as Wendy Sly and Zola Budd.

The bad news from the championships was that the Greek federation, after a routine drug test of its team earlier this week, suspended six athletes whose tests showed traces of suspicious substances.

## RESULTS FROM ATHENS

**Men's 500m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 4:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 3. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 5. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 7. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 9. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22.

**Men's 100m**  
1. T. Bennett (GB) 10.27; 2. O. Prendergast (GB) 10.27; 3. T. Bennett (GB) 10.27; 4. O. Prendergast (GB) 10.27; 5. T. Bennett (GB) 10.27; 6. O. Prendergast (GB) 10.27; 7. T. Bennett (GB) 10.27; 8. O. Prendergast (GB) 10.27; 9. T. Bennett (GB) 10.27; 10. O. Prendergast (GB) 10.27.

**Men's 200m**  
1. T. Bennett (GB) 20.36; 2. A. Wells (GB) 20.36; 3. T. Bennett (GB) 20.36; 4. A. Wells (GB) 20.36; 5. T. Bennett (GB) 20.36; 6. A. Wells (GB) 20.36; 7. T. Bennett (GB) 20.36; 8. A. Wells (GB) 20.36; 9. T. Bennett (GB) 20.36; 10. A. Wells (GB) 20.36.

**Men's 400m**  
1. T. Bennett (GB) 45.56; 2. K. Akabusi (GB) 45.43; 3. T. Bennett (GB) 45.56; 4. K. Akabusi (GB) 45.43; 5. T. Bennett (GB) 45.56; 6. K. Akabusi (GB) 45.43; 7. T. Bennett (GB) 45.56; 8. K. Akabusi (GB) 45.43; 9. T. Bennett (GB) 45.56; 10. K. Akabusi (GB) 45.43.

**Men's 800m**  
1. R. Harrison (GB) 1:49.09; 2. O. Bosadrenko (URS) 1:49.09; 3. R. Harrison (GB) 1:49.09; 4. O. Bosadrenko (URS) 1:49.09; 5. R. Harrison (GB) 1:49.09; 6. O. Bosadrenko (URS) 1:49.09; 7. R. Harrison (GB) 1:49.09; 8. O. Bosadrenko (URS) 1:49.09; 9. R. Harrison (GB) 1:49.09; 10. O. Bosadrenko (URS) 1:49.09.

**Men's 1500m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 4:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 4:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 4:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 4:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 4:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 4:01.22.

**Men's 5000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 16:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 16:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 16:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 16:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 16:01.22.

**Men's 10000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 33:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 33:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 33:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 33:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 33:01.22.

**Men's 20000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 66:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 66:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 66:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 66:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 66:01.22.

**Men's 50000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 165:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 165:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 165:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 165:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 165:01.22.

**Men's 100000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 330:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 330:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 330:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 330:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 330:01.22.

**Men's 200000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 660:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 660:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 660:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 660:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 660:01.22.

**Men's 500000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 1650:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 1650:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 1650:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 1650:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 1650:01.22.

**Men's 1000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 3300:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 3300:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 3300:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 3300:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 3300:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 3300:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 3300:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 3300:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 3300:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 3300:01.22.

**Men's 2000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 6600:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 6600:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 6600:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 6600:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 6600:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 6600:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 6600:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 6600:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 6600:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 6600:01.22.

**Men's 5000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 16500:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 16500:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 16500:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 16500:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 16500:01.22.

**Men's 10000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33000:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 33000:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33000:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 33000:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33000:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 33000:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33000:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 33000:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 33000:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 33000:01.22.

**Men's 20000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66000:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 66000:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66000:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 66000:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66000:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 66000:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66000:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 66000:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 66000:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 66000:01.22.

**Men's 50000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165000:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 165000:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165000:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 165000:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165000:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 165000:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165000:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 165000:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 165000:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 165000:01.22.

**Men's 100000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330000:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 330000:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330000:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 330000:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330000:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 330000:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330000:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 330000:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 330000:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 330000:01.22.

**Men's 200000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660000:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 660000:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660000:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 660000:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660000:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 660000:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660000:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 660000:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 660000:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 660000:01.22.

**Men's 500000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650000:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 1650000:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650000:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 1650000:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650000:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 1650000:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650000:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 1650000:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 1650000:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 1650000:01.22.

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**Men's 2000000000m**  
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**Men's 5000000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500000:01.22; 2. A. Richardson (GB) 16500000:01.22; 3. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500000:01.22; 4. A. Richardson (GB) 16500000:01.22; 5. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500000:01.22; 6. A. Richardson (GB) 16500000:01.22; 7. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500000:01.22; 8. A. Richardson (GB) 16500000:01.22; 9. M. Macfarlane (GB) 16500000:01.22; 10. A. Richardson (GB) 16500000:01.22.

**Men's 10000000000m**  
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**Men's 20000000000m**  
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**Men's 1000000000000000m**  
1. M. Macfarlane (GB) 3300000000000:01.22











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## Egyptians expected to bid for Harrods

Continued from page 1

group, which has important retailing interests (Argos, and in the United States, Saks, Gimbel and Marshall Field); and Hanson Trust.

Mr Geoffrey Maitland Smith, joint chairman of Sears, admitted: "We are not poised to do anything although we are considered to be ideally placed to take it on."

Another interested figure behind the scenes is the oil-rich Sultan of Brunei, who recently bought the Dorchester Hotel in Park Lane for a rumoured \$85 million (£80 million).

His business links with the Al-Fayed brothers are close. They share the same belief in the wisdom of buying foreign property interests and an international name or business. Having bought the Ritz Hotel in Paris, the Al-Fayeds see Harrods in the same light.

Although coy about their relations with the Sultan of Brunei, they have emphatically denied they have any understanding over the future of Fraser-Harrods with Mr Rowland.

They have given assurances to Professor Smith that, no matter what the outcome of any bid they may make, they would not sell their shares (still to be cleared by the Office of Fair Trading) in Fraser.

If and when the bidding starts, two factors will be of crucial importance in deciding the outcome.

One is the decision of the Fraser board to recommend acceptance of an offer; the other is the attitude of the merchant bankers S. G. Warburg, advisers to House of Fraser, whose various investment funds probably own some 15 per cent of Fraser's shares.

About 53 per cent of House of Fraser group profits this year are expected to come from Harrods, which is benefiting from an influx of American buyers enjoying the boom of a strong dollar.

In February, normally a quiet month, business was 28 per cent higher than a year ago and about 40 per cent of all money that crossed Harrods' counters was in dollars.

House of Fraser stores include: Arncliffe in Scotland; Bains in the North of England; Rackhams in the Midlands; Kendal Milne in Manchester; Dingles in the South-west; D H Evans, Dickens & Jones and Army & Navy in London and the South-east.



Heavy going for competitors in the National Cross Country Championships at Milton Keynes on Saturday. David Lewis (below) turned down the chance to run indoors for England, to lead home an 1,800-strong field. (Photograph: Ian Stewart). Report, page 20

## Shias counterpunch Israel

Continued from page 1

"We are still here," one of his transmissions said. "We can say no more." That, too, was to wait until later.

The Israelis left their soldiers during the night and a column of armoured personnel carriers and a Merkava tank arrived to collect them. French troops of the UN stood outside each home in Teir Dibba as the occupation army passed.

These Israelis were could talk to looked tired and were covered in dust and dirt. One tank crossed a road and drove through the middle of a woman's garden while its commander shouted at French television cameramen to stop filming, swivelling a machine gun in their direction.

One Israeli soldier stood by the roadside, his Yarmulka on his head, reciting verses in prayer in the direction of Israel, holding a book before him. His colleagues sat on the top of an armoured personnel carrier. One of them said: "We don't want reporters here. We just want to go home."

When the last vehicle had

gone, we drove with an old woman across the valley to Maarak. The Israelis had left behind one dead man, three wounded men, six wrecked homes and a lot of hatred among the thousands of villagers.

One house belonging to a family called Khalil had been dynamited, but was already decorated with Shia Muslim posters of Ayatollah Khomeini and Iran's former Defence Minister, Mustafa Chamran. Another home, belonging to a 50-year-old lorry driver, Ahmed Ibrahim Roumijeh, had been systematically smashed.

Mr Roumijeh said the Israelis had told him they found explosives in his house. He denied it. But the destruction brought about one of those half-frenzied, half-theatrical explosions of anger among hundreds of young Shia men and women who began chanting *Allahu Akbar* (God is the Greatest) in the ruins of the house.

Above the mosque in a narrow, crowded office, Khalil Jeradi appeared in a brown

combat jacket, grinning at his supporters, claiming that he had never left the village during the raid. Indeed, he had watched it all from a neighbouring window.

He said: "Next time our villages are attacked, we are going to be serious about attacking the Galilee villages in Palestine (Israel). The Israelis did not capture me or any of my fighters in the Tyre area. We shall continue to fight the Israelis to the end. It has already begun."

Indeed, the Israelis found themselves under fierce attack yesterday. A position only three miles from Maarak, came under fire from rocket-propelled grenades, mortars and machine guns during the night. Up to 4,000 rounds of ammunition were used.

Israeli troops were ambushed on the Qasbiyeh bridge. Rocket-propelled grenades were fired at them at Jouayia and between the villages of Haris and Hadatta while several bombs exploded in Tyre itself.

During the night, flames hung in the sky along the line of the Litani.

Pull-back agreed, page 6



## Man born under a good star rejects ill-fortune

In his column from a poor Ganges village in the shadow of the Himalayas, VICTOR ZORZA, the distinguished journalist, writes about the joys and sorrows of Indian village life. Here he relates one man's dream of emigration and riches.

A bicycle would cost a fortune, but the young man, who yearned for the marvellous shiny machine, had it all worked out. He would borrow the money, ride the bicycle into town every day carrying two chums of milk, and would soon be on his way to becoming the richest man in the village.

The moneylender demanded interest at 60 per cent, so Surat Singh kept borrowing small sums from friends until he had collected what he needed. But his first milk delivery almost ended in disaster.

The jungle track connecting the village to the road had been flooded during the monsoon. His front wheel struck an unseen stone, the bicycle overturned, and one chum spilled, its precious contents into the water. But since it was the smaller of the two, he regarded it as a good omen. Surat Singh always looked on the bright side.

He had another stroke of luck just outside town, at the checkpoint where officials inspect the milk. The inspector wasn't there, so he didn't have to pay a bribe. He knew his good fortune could last, because in the end everybody had to pay up, but he got away with it for the whole of the first week. Another favourable omen.

The neighbours from whom Surat Singh collected the milk always diluted it, adding a quart of water to every two quarts of milk. When the inspector did stop him later to take a sample, Surat Singh slipped him the 200 rupees (about £13) he had borrowed from the moneylender for this contingency. It would take him a fortnight to earn that much, but it was a good investment; he would not be bothered again for some time.

The money Surat Singh earned from milk deliveries would finance his dream of emigration for that was how he was going to make his fortune. His first attempt to emigrate ended in disaster when the confidence trickster who had promised to smuggle him to a foreign country left him high and dry, after taking him to Bombay and relieving him of his savings.

This time, Surat Singh told me, he would be more careful: he would rely on me to get him to the promised land. Once abroad, he would work hard for a couple of years - "very hard," he told me - and return with 100,000 rupees (more than £6,500). "Here it takes a lifetime to earn that much," he said, "even as a milkman."

The milk inspector had never promised complete immunity to milkmen, claiming that he had to do his duty "sometimes". It kept them jumpy and compliant. But he always warned Surat Singh when he

was going to take a sample - and demanded a new bribe. Sometimes he would say that his own chief was coming to inspect him, explain that he had to share the bribe with his superior - and extort a bigger payment. Another milkman, slow with his bribes, was caught and fined the equivalent of several months' earnings. Surat Singh, frightened, again borrowed from the moneylender to pay the inspector.

### Diluting the milk to repay a loan

In the torrid summers, by the time Surat Singh reached town, the milk would often go off in the heat. He bought ice on the outskirts and put it into the churns, diluting the milk even further. His customers knew that the milk had been watered down - everybody did it - but protested when it was too thin. He put in arrow root to thicken it and soda to keep it from going bad. Desperate for money to repay the moneylender, he added more water. His custom began to fall off.

The rainy season was worse than the heat. The jungle track was difficult enough to negotiate; the highway to town wet and slippery, with huge lorries rushing past, their drivers heedless of cyclists - was a more serious hazard. Cyclists had been maimed and killed.

A speeding truck knocked him off his bicycle. The driver didn't stop, but passed by pulling him out of the mud, put him on a bullock cart, and took him to hospital. His broken arm, first in plaster and then in a sling, took months to mend. He lost his remaining customers to other milkmen, but has now resumed deliveries and is trying to build up his trade again.

The bone hasn't set properly. He has to have it broken and reset. He rides with one hand resting on the handlebars - a difficult and risky feat, with his heavy load. But for medical expenses, also at 60 per cent, and the earlier borrowings. "Then," he says, "I'll buy an air ticket to go abroad."

"I'm lucky," he explains. "If I'd been in the middle of the road when I was hit, I would have been killed." But he was born under a good star, he insists, and will find his way abroad and return rich.

© 1985, Victor Zorza

Victor Zorza thanks the readers who have sent money for needy villagers, and requests that any future donations should not be sent to him but to the Village Voice Fund, Oxford, 274, Rusbury Road, Oxford, OX2 7D2.

## THE TIMES INFORMATION SERVICE

### Today's events

#### Royal engagements

The Queen attends a reception given by Vice-Chamberlains of the Royal Household at No 12 Downing Street, 6.30.

The Prince of Wales, President, the Prince's Trust, accompanied by the Princess of Wales, attends the premiere of the film *2010* in aid of the Trust, at the Empire, Leicester Square, London WC2, 7.40.

The Princess of Wales attends the Special Preview of the 1985 *Daily*

Mail Ideal Home Exhibition at the Earls Court Exhibitions Centre, Warwick Road, London SW5, 3.

Princess Anne, Chancellor of the University of London, attends a concert by the University of London Student Orchestra, in aid of the Save the Children Fund, at the Queen Elizabeth Hall, London, 7.40.

New exhibitions

John Alford: Silk Top Hat Gallery, 4 Quality Square, Ladlow, Shropshire, Mon, Wed, Thurs, Fri and Sat 10 to 5 closed Tues and Sun. (ends Mar 25).

Isle of Coll and East Lothian works by William Ferguson, Torrance Gallery, 79b, Dundas Street, Edinburgh, Mon to Fri 11 to 6, Sat 10.30 to 1 closed Sun (ends Mar 16).

Musie

Concert by the Omagh Music Society and the Fermanagh Choral Society, with the Western Youth Orchestra, Sacred Heart Church, Omagh, 7.30.

Concert by the CCAT Chamber Orchestra and Choir, Church of Our Lady, Kilmbridge, 8.

Organ recital by Tim Hone, Canterbury Cathedral.

Concert by the Connaught Band, MacRobert Arts Centre, Stirling, 7.30.

Concert by the Chamber Orchestra of Europe, Royal Concert Hall, Nottingham, 7.30.

Concert by the Chamber Orchestra of Europe, Royal Concert Hall, Nottingham, 7.30.

### Nature notes

All over Britain, blackbirds have come into song in the last few days - a casual, at times half-whispered song, unlike the energetic bleats from the thrushes. Yellowhammers are singing again, in the lower branches of roadside trees. Domestic doves, sitting in crevices in buildings, have started cooing at the same time as their wild originals, the rock-doves, who sit in cracks in the cliffs. (On English hills, where domestic pigeons have reverted to breeding with the rock-doves, but in Scotland there are still genuine wild populations.)

During the hard weather, birds like woodcock were coming into Britain across the North Sea, but already the return movement has begun. Starlings and pied wagtails are flying back from Ireland, while hooded and carrion crows, rooks and jacks are coming out in large flocks for Holland and Germany. Common gulls and lesser black-backed gulls are beginning to drift northwards.

A few snowdrops flowered in January, but they were not until the snow had passed, and they are now out in brilliant white patches. In the West country, the first sulphur-coloured brimstone butterflies have emerged. DJM

### Parliament today

Commons (2.30): Debate on public expenditure White Paper.

Lords (2.30): London Regional Transport (Amendment) Bill, Trustee Savings Banks Bill, and Local Government (Choice of Electoral Systems) Bill, second readings.

### Roads

London and South-east A40: Westbound traffic reduced to one lane in New Oxford Street, at junction with Charing Cross Road. B311: Traffic signals 24 hours a day in Chobham Road, Camberley, Surrey, near junction with Old Bilsley Road.

Midlands A1: Contraflow north of Colsterworth, at Stoke Rochford. M5: Lane restrictions and some overnight carriageway closures between junctions 6 and 4 (Worcester to Bromsgrove); closures during the week. A429: Temporary traffic lights between Warwick and Moreton-in-the-Marsh, S of Stroud.

Wales and West A4173: Stroud Road, Gloucester, closed to southbound vehicles. Diversion signposted, northbound unaffected. M5: Lane closures between junctions 17 and 18 (Bristol West and Avonmouth Docks); contraflow in operation while resurfacing work takes place. A5: Temporary traffic lights in use on Berwyn-Cood to Corwen Road at Carriagduff, also at Maesdyr - temporary signal in operation 24 hours a day.

North A534: Temporary lights, Crewe Road, Wintley, NE of Crewe. A167: One lane closed at Ferryhill Cut on Durham; Diversion for southbound traffic: through Ferryhill. A68: Roadworks at Catwary Heads SE of Hexham; delays likely.

Scotland A7: Single lane traffic with lights N of Hawick, Roxburghshire. A85: Traffic control at 3 locations between 2 and 5 miles E of Dalmlally. B764: Traffic signals in Eaglesham, Renfrew; traffic signals.

Information supplied by AA.

### Anniversaries

Birth: Antonio Vivanti, Venice, 1878; Sir Henry Raeburn, portrait painter, Stockbridge, Edinburgh, 1756; Deshaei W. Willet, originator of "daylight saving", Chichester, Kent, 1915; William Carlos Williams, poet, Rutherford, New Jersey, 1893.

### The pound

	Bank	Bank
	Buy	Sell
Australia	1.58	1.59
Belgium	26.18	24.90
Canada	74.75	71.25
Denmark	1.01	1.02
France	12.25	12.75
Germany	11.72	12.00
Italy	1.77	1.84
Japan	16.85	16.50
Netherlands	1.69	1.70
Sweden	1.21	1.15
Switzerland	2.20	2.18
USA	2.24	2.23
Yugoslavia	4.21	4.01
West Germany	1.72	1.70
Portugal	202.00	192.00
South Africa	2.55	2.50
Spain	16.85	16.50
Sweden	1.21	1.15
Switzerland	2.20	2.18
USA	1.72	1.70
Yugoslavia	288.00	282.00

Rates for small denomination bank notes only, as accepted by Barclays Bank PLC. Different rates apply to travellers' cheques and other foreign currency business.

Retail Price Index: 338.6.

London: The FT index closed down 4.8 on Friday at 1074.

New York: The Dow Jones industrial average closed up 15.36 on Friday at 1289.35.

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24-hour: MONDAY, MARCH 4, 1985.

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## Weather forecast

A deep and vigorous depression over NE England will move away northwards into the North Sea.

### 6 am to midnight

London, SE, central S, E England, East Angles, W Midlands, Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Wales, SW, NW, central N, NE England, S, W Wales, Lake District, Isle of Man: Showers or longer outbreaks of rain, some bright intervals; wind SW or W fresh or strong, locally gale; max temp 50-55 (45 to 48).

SW, NW, central N, NE England, S, W Wales, Lake District, Isle of Man: Showers or longer outbreaks of rain, some bright intervals; wind SW or W fresh or strong, locally gale; max temp 50-55 (45 to 48).

SE, central S, E England, East Angles, W Midlands, Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Wales, SW, NW, central N, NE England, S, W Wales, Lake District, Isle of Man: Showers or longer outbreaks of rain, some bright intervals; wind SW or W fresh or strong, locally gale; max temp 50-55 (45 to 48).

Outlook for tomorrow and Wednesday: Sunny intervals and showers, heavy at times, windy on hills, becoming drier with sunny periods on Wednesday. Further rain in W later. Mostly rather cold.

SEA PASSAGES: S North Sea: Wind SW strong to gale; showers; sea very rough. S North Sea: Wind SW strong to gale; showers; sea very rough.

Further rain in W later. Mostly rather cold.

SEA PASSAGES: S North Sea: Wind SW strong to gale; showers; sea very rough. S North Sea: Wind SW strong to gale; showers; sea very rough.

### Lighting-up time

London 6.18 pm to 6.07 am.

Edinburgh 6.25 pm to 6.16 am.

Manchester 6.25 pm to 6.16 am.

Sheffield 6.25 pm to 6.16 am.

Cardiff 6.25 pm to 6.16 am.

Belfast 6.25 pm to 6.16 am.

London 6.18 pm to 6.07 am.

Edinburgh 6.25 pm to 6.16 am.

Manchester 6.25 pm to 6.16 am.

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